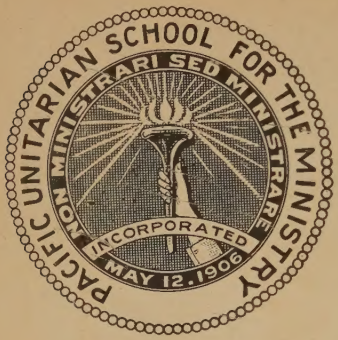

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EARLY SOURCES

OF

ENGLISH UNITARIAN CHRISTIANITY

BY

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PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

THE merits of this volume, as an example of special historical study, are so conspicuous, that it might well dispense with all external commendation: and from mine, I am well aware, no other advantage can be gained than such support as an old man's friendship and esteem may be supposed to afford to a young author's modesty. The investigation to which the following pages are devoted interests me the more, because it takes me up far less as the critic than as the learner, and leaves me grateful for new knowledge and for many a charming or impressive picture from the drama of the past. The author's problem,—to find the source of Unitarian Christianity in this country,—has naturally led him away from the main roads of the revolt from Rome, which ended in the Anglican, the Lutheran, and the Reformed Churches, and thrown him into the eccentric by-paths of the Reformation, where the freer minds are sure to be found, and coherent thought is yet in the making. Whether or not he alights there on the true solution of his problem, I will not venture to pronounce; but as he questions group after group, and elicits their curious enthusiasms, and follows them in their flight from danger, to Emden, to London, to Chiavenna, to Basel, to Poland, he lays bare the very spirit of the times in its ferment of belief and struggle of character.

To discover the origin of Christian Unitarianism in England we may proceed in either of two opposite directions; from the present formed results backwards, step by step, through the influences which have shaped them, as far as we can see our way; or from the earliest traces of anti-trinitarian opinion that could move forward into these results. The latter is the method pursued by Professor Bonet-Maury, and is indeed rendered inevitable at last by the disappearance of clear historical continuity at the upper end. It involves the inquirer, and still more the reader, in a danger against which it is difficult to guard the imagination. As he searches through the dark places of the sixteenth century, the gleam which he wants turns up at more points than one, and visits him with rival possibilities of derivation; and by the need of selection, the problem is apt to assume in his mind an alternative form: "Is this doctrine, in its beginning, indigenous or foreign?—if foreign, from the Latin races or the Germanic?—if the former, from Spain or Italy?—if the latter, from Saxony or Holland?—if from Holland, from the Anabaptists of Delft, or the scholar of Rotterdam?" Thus a host of hypotheses springs up, some of which may no doubt be put out of court by sufficient evidence of fact, but none of which can be taken as intrinsically excluding any other; and yet the advocate of each is apt, in the eagerness of discussion, to believe himself possessed of the sole key to the problem. Unitarian theology is not so artificial a phenomenon that we are obliged to refer it, like the enunciation of Kepler's laws or the spectrum analysis, to a single discoverer. On the contrary, as a simple reversion from something far more artificial than itself, it may well be expected, in an age which breaks up the stagnation of thought, to arise

simultaneously as a function of many movements and in the experience of many minds. Nothing therefore precludes us from accepting for it, in its modern re-appearance, several concurrent beginnings, instead of a single line of filiation from a preferred historical source.

The study of comparative mythology at one time consisted of little else than a fancied detection of identity, under the disguise of different names and symbols, between the gods of separated tribes, and the skilful use of this identity in evidence of a certain order of interdependence in the development and relations of these tribes. It is now well understood that the similarities insisted on imply no process of borrowing, that the growth of a mythology is a natural and traceable process in the mental history and crystalizing language of mankind, and can hardly fail, under the play of common psychological laws, to create resembling forms in races externally distinct. By its theory of the Mythos, philosophical philology has not only found a meaning for what appeared to be mere childish dreams, but restrained the aberrations of speculative history. No important belief can any longer have its story told from the outside. However modified by surrounding conditions, and geographically conveyed to new regions, it has its root and aliment in the inward nature, as the expression of some want, the assertion of some affection which time and place will not wear out.

The dissolution of a mythology is no less natural a process than its growth, and is indeed secured the moment we have discovered how it has grown. No one who sees in Zeus, Osiris and Isis, the personification of certain natural phenomena, or in Heracles, Romulus, and the Hebrew Messiah,

the ideal genius of a race, can any longer pay them the homage expected at their temples or held due to their names. In the same way the objective reality of Trinitarian worship inevitably vanishes for one who knows the successive increments by which its organism of doctrine has formed itself: to see its construction is to feel its dissolution. And even without this power of outwardly following a belief through its embryonic stages, the mere reflective sense of its internal incongruity or its contradiction to the better known, practically cancels its Divine pretensions, and concentrates the soul's religion on what remains when it retires. But what is this natural residue of faith, when the enigma of tripersonality brings thought into confusion and the affections into conflict? Its object is simply the Unipersonal God, the beginning and the end of every perfection, the centre and the infinitude of all good. To be precipitated upon this faith, nothing more is needed than for a religious mind to find itself, from some cause or other, on uneasy terms with a doctrine which has various ways of offending the awakened reason and conscience. It ought not to surprise us therefore if, on the weakening of ecclesiastical pressure or the increased tension of spiritual independence, Unitarian theology repeatedly appears upon the scene, and enters it from several sides. In seeking for it everywhere, within the area of the Reformation, and in discriminating its different types, Professor Bonet-Maury works strictly within the limits of his inquiry. He deals in each case with what was, or at least might be, a *vera causa* of the phenomenon which he proposes to explain. He collects his resources before he allots to them their work; assembling them, for the most part, at the "Foreigners' Church" in Austin Friars, where the seeds of

many a heresy found, it would seem, if not a kindly soil, at least some stony ground for a brief flowering season.

Among the several possible tributaries to English Unitarianism which were co-present there about the middle of the sixteenth century, some one influence must have taken the initiative. Was it the speculation of Servetus? or the personal weight of Lælius Sozini? or the spiritual catholicity of Ochino? or the devotion of the "Family of Love"? or the heroic piety of the Smithfield martyr, George van Parris? On reviewing the whole evidence, Professor Bonet-Maury assigns the first place to the Spanish and Italian writers and refugees; and it is impossible to regret an opinion to which we owe his deeply interesting sketches of Servetus, of Valdés, of Altieri, of Ochino. But of these reformers, however animated by evangelical freedom of spirit, Servetus alone departed from the orthodox Christology; and the characteristics of their thought are so alien from the genius of the known Unitarianism in the 17th and 18th centuries, that any prior school which they might cause in the 16th would sit apart and fail to give us the requisite historical continuity. There are two ways in which a rank more than human has been provided for the person of Christ by those who could not admit his equality with the Father. Either he was a higher pre-existent nature sunk into manhood by incarnate birth; or he was simply human to begin with, and through spiritual endowment and holy obedience exalted to Divine functions and near communion with the Indivisible God. The former conception, starting from the supernatural nativity and following it into the ministry of humiliation and sacrifice, has marked every form of Arianism. The latter, beginning, like Mark's Gospel, with the simply human pro-

phet of Galilee, and then finding him, like Paul, reserved, immortal in the heavens, for judicial offices proper only to omniscient power, is the Socinian characteristic. Many English Unitarians have held, in conformity with the former, that Christ was *made man;* but few, so far as I am aware, that he was *made God.* Even those who retained the eschatology of a general resurrection and judgment have tried to bring these stupendous processes within the resources of an inspired humanity. If among the South European refugees in London this type of heresy had its votaries, it seems to have remained an exotic, and not to have reproduced itself in English thought.

The estimate which disciples make of the person of their Master is determined by their preconception of the work he has to do. Whatever that requires him to be, they cannot doubt that he really is. There are two aspects under which that work has presented itself to their minds—as *Redemption* and as *Revelation*—the former, a transaction, altering the real relations of persons and the very nature of things; the latter, a superhuman enlargement of knowledge and showing of things as they are, without further change in them than may arise from clearer apprehension. To effect the former, —to abolish a primeval curse and neutralize the power of Sin and Death, to render pardon accessible and holiness possible, and re-open the closed gates of eternal life,—is to revolutionize the universe, and may well be deemed beyond the reach of any nature less than God. Certainly it is an infinite overmatch for a personality like ours, however filled to its utmost capacities by heavenly aids. But to be the organ of Revelation,—to have the incubus of spiritual doubt removed and the sad enigmas of life resolved,—to be

inwardly told what we have longed to know, and see the mists disperse from the future we could never pierce,—this is but the flow of light upon the faculties we have, and needs no more than the open reason and purified conscience of a true Son of Man. Accordingly it is not among those reformers who approach Christianity from the Augustinian side,—not with Luther or the Swiss leaders, not with Farel, not even with Valdés and Ochino,—that we meet with disaffection towards the received Christology; they leave untouched the Divine Drama of Salvation, and take nothing from its objective conditions or the portentous meaning of its Calvary; but only snatch its benefits from sacerdotal grasp and distribution, and set them free for appropriation by personal faith, and for the emergence of a new life of the Spirit. This is the form of evangelic thought congenial to passionate and turbulent natures that need a foreign rescue from their own inward tyrannies. But there are quieter spirits, less stormy in their impulses and of more steadfast will, whose chief need for higher life is, to know more of higher things; whose love is ready for any Divine Perfection that may be opened to their sight; and who will enter at once upon any sanctifying trust or glorious hope from which the clouds may clear away. These it is that ask from Christianity nothing but *Revelation;* who require therefore in its Author only the power to reveal,—that is, insight, however given, into the spiritual truth they miss. If they feel that, for this end, the incarnate appearance of God in person would be an incredible over-provision, they will naturally be the first to rest contented with the Humanity of Christ, as an adequate medium of light from heaven. If Luther represents the former class, Erasmus belongs by

nature and by habit to the latter; and certainly he was, if not Unitarian himself, at least a very early cause of Unitarianism in others. Among scholars, his text of the New Testament, in a far wider circle his exegetical Annotations, diffused anti-trinitarian modes of thought. If ever the Dutch and English Anabaptists, who disowned for the most part the doctrine of the Trinity, departed so far from their rigid Scripturalism as to cite a human authority in their defence, it was under his writings that they sheltered their heresy.[1] His influence, moreover, entered as a factor into the Arminianism of Holland, and through this, as well as directly, into the Socinianism of Poland, and thence again into the Latitudinarianism of England; which, in the writings of Hales, Chillingworth and Locke, is theologically indistinguishable from Unitarian Christianity. In this line of descent, the phenomena appear to be continuous by natural heredity; whilst the South European examples of anti-trinitarian doctrine are sporadic, and do not seem to supply the true root of the English school.

But there is one unorthodox influence so powerful and so extensively diffused as almost to supersede inquiry into the personal pedigree of English Unitarianism—I mean, the English Bible. It is difficult for us to realize the startling effect of throwing open to Europe in its vernacular tongues a Sacred Literature vehemently contrasted, in matter, in form, in spirit, with the ecclesiastical stereotype of Christianity. For their impressions of the Saviour's life and person, the multitude had been dependent on pictures in

[1] See the curious Dialogue between the Inquisitor of Bruges and an Anabaptist, in Ch. II.

the churches, which taught whatever the artist fancied; and they knew as much about cherubs and angels and legendary saints, and things in heaven and things in hell, as about the Galilean lake and hills, and the gracious figure and real incidents that have consecrated them for ever. The celebration of the Mass, the repetitions counted by the Rosary, the resort to the Confessional, the submission to penance, the purchase of indulgences, the recital of the Creeds, the exercise of Mariolatry, set up in their imagination a vast mythology as the faith of Christendom. The Trinity is in every prayer; the prayers go through the day; and the church-days go through the year; and at every turn, of nature or of grace, the Priest steps in to find it ill or make it good. Suppose a worshipper, with mind thus pre-occupied, to find, chained to a public desk within his church, one of the new Bibles in his own language, and to be so arrested by it as to forget what he came for, and stay with it while others pass on to the choir. As he reads, are the thoughts and images which the page throws upon his mind in tune with the familiar offices which he faintly overhears? Does his attention rest upon the suppliant cries of Psalmist or Prophet or Apostle or of the Man of Sorrows himself—They are silent of the "Holy, Blessed, and Glorious Trinity, three Persons and One God," wherein every church prayer finds its crown. Does he alight on the Pauline Unipersonal profession of theistic faith, "To us there is One God, *the Father*"—Does then the Apostle's "One God" comprise no "Son," and no "Holy Ghost"? Does he read the story of the Last Supper, or the Apostolic instructions for its celebration at Corinth—Is this a Sacrament? Where is the Priest? Where, the Miracle? Where, the sacerdotal monopoly of the cup? Where,

the "Unbloody Sacrifice"? It is the same all through. A mind surrendered, with the freshness and freedom which true piety gives, to the broad characteristics of the Scriptures, could not but suffer estrangement from the very essence of the ecclesiastical theory;—first, no doubt, escaping from its degrading imposture of priestly mediation, into immediate spiritual relations with heaven; but, ere long, irresistibly impressed by the purely monotheistic character of the Biblical Theology, and the genuine humanism of the Christology. The evangelical spirit that sprung from the re-opened "Word of God" was, in all its operations, a new birth of Religion into simplicity; throwing off, to begin with, the incubus of church "works," and delivering the individual soul to the life of inward faith and love; and then, in due time, reducing that inward faith itself to simpler terms, without the tangled threads which no thought could smooth into a consistent tissue. Starting from Luther's first-translated Pauline Epistles, it snatched *Redemption* from the Altar and made it over to the Conscience. Concentrated next upon the Gospels, it identified itself with the Religion of Christ, and found the *Revelation* only the perfecting of Reason. It was the mission of Wiclif and the "Reformers before the Reformation" as well as at its outset, to carry the emancipation through the first stage; of Crell and Biddle, of the Arminians and Latitudinarians, of Price and Priestley, of Channing, the Coquerels and Parker, to suffer no pause short of the second.

Throughout this movement till very near its end, both impulse and direction have been due to the Scriptures, used as the charter of spiritual rights. By resort to this test everything has been accomplished. Fathers, Councils, Tradition, Donation of Constantine, Primacy of Peter, have been put

to flight by rigorous loyalty to the "pure Word of Holy Writ,"—the "Naked Gospel," the "Oracles of God," as understood by the individual disciple's reason and conscience. The earlier Unitarians, notwithstanding their repute of rationalism, drew their doctrine out of the Scriptures, much to their own surprise, and did not import it into them. Biddle, for instance, declares that "he experienced his first doubts respecting the Trinity in reading the Bible, before he had ever seen a Socinian book." And how great a thirst was appeased by the opening of the long-sealed fountain of living waters may be judged from this—that the first enthusiasm of the evangelic spirit, in both its forms, was for diffusing the Bible in the language of each land: till that was done, there was neither Redemption for the soul, nor Revelation of the truth. Nor was this estimate mistaken. The reforming energy became intense and persistent precisely in those countries which early possessed a widely distributed version of the Scriptures in the spoken tongue, in Germany, Holland, Britain, and even France. Spain, on the other hand, though furnished with its translation about the middle of the 16th century, stood, like Italy, in such relations to Rome, that it was not publicly accessible. If the religious revolution failed in Southern Europe, it was not because the genius of the Latin races gave it no response, but (inter alia) because the new life, after its first pulsations had been suppressed, was without the permanent aliment which alone could again and again revive it and carry on its growth.

This general cause of modified doctrine, the vernacular Bible, is of course everywhere pre-supposed by the accomplished author of the following Treatise, and neither supple-

ments nor replaces any source to which he is disposed to trace the Unitarian Christianity of England. I dwell upon it only as a caution to the reader against excessive historical simplification—i.e. against insisting upon some single origin for an assemblage of facts whose unity may be not that of external concatenation, but that of internal agreement. Lay but the Christian records before a mind devout and clear, and leave them alone with each other, and is it wonderful if the Christianity of a Channing should emerge? And if this may happen in one place, so may it in a hundred; and the great river of faith which flows before us as a single stream, may be the blending of many rills descending from separated heights, and knowing nothing of each other till they mingle.

With these few words, suggested by Professor Bonet-Maury's rich and instructive pages, I take my leave of him for the present, in the hope of ere long meeting him again, and the entire confidence that, when he speaks again, it will be to no small audience, English and American, rendered at once grateful and expectant by his first work.

James Martineau.

SOURCES OF

ENGLISH UNITARIANISM.

INTRODUCTION.

It is an opinion much in favour with historians that Protestantism is uncongenial to the Latin races. Nations of the Teutonic stock, it is affirmed, being by temperament inclined to reflection, have accepted Protestantism; while the Southern populations, requiring a religion which speaks to eye and imagination as well, would of necessity reject it in the sixteenth century.[1] A mere glance over the period of the spread of the Reformation (1512—1564) will convince us of the falsity of this conclusion.

Let us leave out of account France, a country of mixed race, where it is scarcely contested any longer that the Reformation took deep root, especially in the South, as is proved by the existence of the Albigenses and the Waldenses. Let us take Spain and Italy. The twenty volumes of the

[1] Such seems to be the opinion of M. Taine, in his *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise* (vol. ii. 288, 289), where he contrasts the serious and moral races of the North with the frivolous and irreligious peoples of the South. "The Reformation," says he, "is a Renascence appropriate to the genius of the Germanic nations." Cf. the contrary opinion of E. Renan, in his Lecture on "Judaism considered as a Race and a Religion," *Revue Politique et Littéraire*, 3 Feb. 1883.

collection of Spanish Reformers,[2] and the sale in Italy of forty thousand copies of the *Benefizio di Gesù Cristo*,[3] are evidences of the enthusiastic reception won by the gospel, when offered to the Christian public in those very countries which certain writers beyond the Rhine would fain represent as effete, and unamenable to all moral and religious progress. Yet more, the long and still inexhaustive list of martyrs for the gospel in Italy and Spain proves that the populations of those countries had strongly felt the influence of the Reform movement; so much so, that the Inquisition was obliged to have recourse to a veritable reign of terror and atrocious severities to avoid being vanquished.

Moreover, the Reformation had its precursors in those countries also. In Spain, the Waldenses or *Leonistas*[4] (men of Lyons), and the *Alumbrados* (enlightened), had reinstated evangelical worship; in Italy, the principles of the Arnoldists and of the Abbot Joachim, and the austere and prophetic voice of Savonarola, still found an echo in believing souls. In these two countries the labours of the writers of the Renascence, especially those of Pico della Mirandola and Erasmus, had caused an awakening of philosophic thought which was sure, sooner or later, to issue in a re-casting of dogma. Everything leads to the belief that if the secular arm had not supported the Roman Church by physical force, the latter would never have attained its end of re-consolidating its power, which had been so signally shaken. That power was, in fact, undermined by the writings of Valdés, Servetus, Ochino, and the Sozzini.

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[2] *Los Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*. Edited by Usoz i Rio and Benjamin Wiffen. 20 vols. 8vo. London, 1860 ff.

[3] Lichtenberger's *Encyclopédie*, art. *Italie* (Long). The *Benefizio di Gesù Cristo*, of which only two or three copies escaped the flames of the Inquisition, has been reprinted by Dr. Babington, Cambridge, 1855.

[4] [Leonistas = Lyonists, i. e. poor men of Lyons, from Leona, the Spanish name of the city.—TRANS.]

Had they come victorious out of the period of agitations and conflicts, the Spanish and Italian Protestants would have provided themselves with an ecclesiastical organization and a form of worship suitable to their national genius and satisfying all their religious needs, just as we see them doing nowadays under the régime of a legal toleration. This is no gratuitous assumption. What we shall have to say hereafter concerning the churches of the Spanish and Italian exiles in various countries of Europe will complete the proof of our thesis, namely, that the Latin races were neither less desirous nor less capable of a religious reformation than the nations of the North; and that they have been kept within the pale of the Roman Church far less by attachment to theatrical forms of worship than by the terror of the Inquisition, and by the constraint of the civil power allied with the Holy See. The fact is that, after the failure of the three professedly reforming Councils, Constanz, Basel and Pisa, a failure due in great part to the unconciliatory conduct of the Popes, all the nations of Western Europe were disgusted with the moral abuses and fiscal exactions of the Roman Church, and were ready to shake off in concert the yoke of the "modern Babylon." To save her supremacy in the South, Catholic Rome had to adopt the old device of Pagan Rome, *Divide et impera*. Like fire, she played a self-consuming part, and, at the cost of great pecuniary sacrifices, purchased the co-operation of the French and Italian princes in her work of exterminating heresy.

The Protestants early opposed the principle of union amid diversity to the Catholic tenet of absolute unity. Protest against the abuses and errors of the Church of Rome was universal in Europe; but it assumed various forms, according to the character and composition of the races which divided the West. One may even refer the varieties of Protestantism to three principal types: the Saxo-Scandinavian type, represented by Luther, Melanchthon, Bucer, Bugenhagen, and

Cranmer; the Franco-Helvetic type, which appears in Calvin and Zwingli; and the Hispano-Italian type, impersonated in Servetus, Ochino, and the Sozzini.

With the Lutherans, the protest was dictated by the requirements of the heart and conscience much more than by the claims of reason. It was in the name of conscience, outraged by the abuse which was being made of indulgences, that Luther affixed his theses to the Wittenberg Schlosskirche; but he still retained the cultus of the Virgin and the Saints. So also the English divines, when once they had secured pre-eminence to the principles of Paul and of Augustine in the dogmata of grace and redemption, accepted all the Catholic dogmata, whatever they were, which did not injure the arteries of religious life.[5]

The Hispano-Italian school proceeds, on the contrary, from reason and from legal ideas, rather than from moral and mystical feeling. It combats the errors and abuses of the Roman Church by appealing to a legal text. It adopts, as its test of dogma, conformity with Holy Scripture, considered as the inspired code of moral and religious law, and interpreted by sound reason. All doctrine which is not expressly authorised by the word of God, ought to be eliminated, even though resting on the tradition of many centuries, the teaching of the Fathers, and the canons of Œcumenical Councils.

Between these two types, which may be called the Lutheran and the Socinian, we find a third, the Zwinglio-Calvinian, which shares some of the characteristics of each. Holding with the first that mystical tendency which can respect the merest doctrinal quibbles about the Lord's Supper and the two natures in Jesus Christ, it nevertheless has, in common with the second, that dialectical vigour and that juridical

[5] J. H. Scholten, *De Leer der Hervormde Kerk in hare Grondbeginselen.* 2 vols. 8vo. Leiden, 1862.

power which produced the *Institutio Christianæ Religionis* and the Ordinances of Geneva.

M. Réville has judiciously remarked that, in the countries of the centre and the north of Europe, conscience had more to do with the Reformation than science, while in Italy and Spain reason took precedence of the moral and religious sentiment. Now it was precisely in the south that the Antitrinitarian tendency was most pronounced.[6]

This Antitrinitarian tendency was indeed the logical result of the two ideas which were the motive forces of the Reformation, one being that the Christian Church and its dogmata had been radically corrupted by the Roman Catholic system, and that they must be purified by reduction to the apostolic norm; the other, that Christian doctrine, to be of practical service, must be capable of coinciding with man's actual conscience, instead of remaining in the condition of abstract and transcendental formula. Such is the common opinion of all the extreme parties of the Reformation; they maintained that the religion of Jesus had suffered fundamental changes in its sacraments and its dogmata immediately after the disappearance of the first generation of Christians, and that everything not authorised by the Bible and the testimony of the apostles ought to be abolished. The Anabaptists, on the strength of this principle, condemned infant baptism, the images of the Saints, and even that of Christ, and the special function of the clergy. They even went so far as to attempt a restoration of the Communism which prevailed in the Church of Jerusalem. The principle which the Anabaptists applied in the region of discipline and liturgy, the Antitrinitarians carried into the domain of

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[6] Albert Réville, *Hist. du Dogme de la Divinité de Jésus Christ*, 1869. pp. 132, 142. [See English translation by Miss Swaine, pp. 174, 186. London, 1878.]

dogma.[7] These two tendencies set out from a common point of view, namely, the necessity for a radical reform of the Christian system, paying no heed to tradition or existing institutions. This is why, at first, they were so often confounded with one another.

The mere reading of the titles of the works of the first Unitarians, e.g. Martin Cellarius, Campanus and Servetus, is sufficient to convince us that they were thoroughly in earnest in taking in hand a radical regeneration of the Church. In 1527, Cellarius published his book *De Operibus Dei;* Servetus in 1553 gave to his great work the title *Christianismi Restitutio;* Campanus had already chosen for one of his works the significant title, *Contra totum post Apostolos mundum* (1531?); for another, that of *Göttlicher und heiliger Schrifft, vor vielen Jaren verdunkelt, und durch unheilsame Leer und Lerer (aus Gottes Zulassung) verfinstert, Restitution und Besserung.* (Restitution and Renovation of Divine and Holy Writ, many years obscured, and, by sufferance of God, darkened through unsalutary doctrine and teachers, 1532.) Not meeting in the Bible with the terms "Trinity," "homoousia" (consubstantiality), "eternal generation of the Son," "procession of the Holy Spirit," they thence concluded that all these dogmata were of human invention, and consequently hurtful to Christian faith. The notion of a complete purification of Catholic doctrine, distinguished from the outset the Unitarian radicals from the orthodox Trinitarians, who professed to conserve all that did not directly relate to the doctrine of Redemption. This clearly appears in a letter addressed, on 14 Sept. 1564, by Prince Mikolaj (Nicholas) Radziwill[8] to Calvin, whom he did not

[7] F. Trechsel, *Die Protestantischen Antitrinitarier vor F. Socin.*, vol. i. 8, 9. Heidelberg, 1844.

[8] This prince, brother-in-law to Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, and Palatine of Wilna, was one of the promoters of the Reformation in

know to be already dead (24 May): "Ex his et similibus doctrinis inferre et concludere conantur [Antitrinitarii], totam doctrinam in Papatu, etiam de hoc fidei nostræ fundamento, fuisse corruptam; nihilque intactum reliquisse Antichristum, quod tetris et horrendis ille abominationibus non contaminaret, non pollueret, non profanaret. Trinitarii contra concedunt quidem reliqua omnia pessumdata fuisse in Papatu; hæc vero de primario fidei nostræ fundamento, singulari Dei beneficio, illibata et inviolata permansisse."[9]

Alarmed at these extreme consequences, and fearing the loss of the support of the Princes if the very basis of the Church were upset, the Reformers appealed to the secular arm to repress the extravagances of the Anabaptists and Antitrinitarians. Hätzer at Constanz, Servetus at Geneva, Georg van Parris in London, were the first victims of this policy of repression.

The appeal to the secular arm was, as Trechsel acknowledges, an inconsistency on the part of the Reformers.[10] I will add that the retention of the so-called Athanasian Creed, pure and simple, as the basis of the Protestant theodicy, was

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Poland. He was the protector of Lismanini, Biandrata, and Stancaro, which did not, however, prevent his keeping up a friendly correspondence with Calvin. *Calvini Opera*, ed. Baum, Cunitz and Reuss, vol. xv. 2113, 2227, 2366—2371; vol. xvii. 2876, 3019; vol. xviii. 3232, 3238, 3443; vol. xix. 3562, 3565; vol. xx. 4125. The letter quoted above is found in the archives of the Church of Zürich, *Simler'sche Sammlung*, vol. ii. fol. 110.

[9] ["From these and kindred doctrines [the Antitrinitarians] do their best to draw the inference and conclusion that the whole body of doctrine, even as regards the foundation of our faith, was corrupted under the Papacy; and that Antichrist left nothing untouched by the contaminations, pollutions and profanations of its foul and horrible abominations. The Trinitarians, on the other hand, while admitting that everything else was altered for the worse under the Papacy, nevertheless contend that this primary article and foundation of our faith was, by the singular providence of God, preserved unimpaired and inviolate."]

[10] Trechsel, *ut sup.*, vol. i. 11.

another. As this Creed served as target for all the Anti-trinitarian batteries, it is right for us to reproduce here, *in extenso*, that portion of it which relates to the doctrine of the Trinity.

Quicumque Vult.

"Whosoever will be saved: before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith.

"Which Faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled: without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

"And the Catholic Faith is this: That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity;

"Neither confounding the Persons: nor dividing the Substance.

"For there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son: and another of the Holy Ghost.

"But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one: the glory equal, the majesty co-eternal.

"Such as the Father is, such is the Son: and such is the Holy Ghost.

"The Father uncreate, the Son uncreate: and the Holy Ghost uncreate.

"The Father incomprehensible *(immensus)*, the Son incomprehensible: and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible.

"The Father eternal, the Son eternal: and the Holy Ghost eternal.

"And yet they are not three eternals: but one eternal.

"As also there are not three incomprehensibles, nor three uncreated: but one uncreated, and one incomprehensible.

"So likewise the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty: and the Holy Ghost Almighty.

"And yet they are not three Almighties: but one Almighty.

"So the Father is God, the Son is God: and the Holy Ghost is God.

"And yet they are not three Gods: but one God.

"So likewise the Father is Lord, the Son Lord: and the Holy Ghost Lord.

"And yet not three Lords: but one Lord.

"For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity: to acknowledge every Person by himself to be God and Lord;

"So are we forbidden by the Catholic Religion: to say, There be three Gods, or three Lords.

"The Father is made of none: neither created, nor begotten.

"The Son is of the Father alone: not made, nor created, but begotten.

"The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son: neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.

"So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons: one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.

"And in this Trinity none is afore, or after other: none is greater, or less than another;

"But the whole three Persons are co-eternal together: and co-equal.

"So that in all things, as is aforesaid: the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped.

"He therefore that will be saved: must thus think of the Trinity."

This confession of faith, attributed to Athanasius, but which did not bear his name at the outset, and was originally drafted in Gaul, towards the middle of the eighth century, jarred so harshly with the whole system of biblical theology, that the Reformers would willingly have abandoned it, had they not seen in it an effective bulwark against the attacks of what they called the fanatical, or as we should now say, the radical party in Protestantism, namely, the Anabaptists and Antitrinitarians. Luther, in his Sermon for Trinity Sunday, and Melanchthon, in his correspondence, make some significant admissions on this subject.

The importance they attached to individual opinion, led them to qualify the Athanasian formula in an Arian sense; so that it has been justly said that they themselves brought on the decline of the Trinitarian dogma. In fact, from their point of view, man could neither be saved by the efficacy of sacraments, nor in virtue of a passive adhesion to revealed

dogma. To have saving power, it was indispensable that Christian truth should enter a man's own soul, and should, so to speak, become incarnate in his conscience. In other words, it was incumbent upon the initiators of the Reformation to do away with every mediator, divine or human, save one, and so to place man in direct relations with God. But if God be the complex and unintelligible Being who is offered to us in the *Symbolum Quicumque*, and Jesus Christ a *hypostasis* (constituent personality) of that Being, it may well be asked how the faith and love of the sinner could fasten upon such a Deity. What confidence, what sympathy, what personal affection can be inspired by a Being who is neither Single nor Three? Accordingly the Reformers insisted upon the human character of Christ.

And it is this which justifies the remark of F. C. Baur, paradoxical as it may almost appear, that "Melanchthon, Servetus, and Fausto Sozzini, notwithstanding their divergent tendencies, resembled each other in the attitude which they assumed towards the traditional dogma of the Trinity."[11] Only, what in Melanchthon is simple indifference, becomes positive criticism in Servetus, and reaches the stage of negative and radical criticism in the *Fratres Poloni*. We have here a veritable process of decomposition of the Trinity; and it is worth while to enter into details, in order to explain the share which the most orthodox Reformers took in the work.

In the first place we are struck with the circumstance that Melanchthon, both in the original draft and in the primary edition (1521) of his *Loci Communes*, the first systematic exhibition of Protestant dogma, accords to the Trinity no further treatment than this short rubric in the list of topics: "*Deus, Unus, Trinus.*" Was this an inadvertence? Assur-

[11] Baur, *Die Christliche Lehre der Dreieinigkeit*, vol. ii. 33, note.

edly not. As he deals in a similar way with other dogmata of like nature, e.g. the Creation and the Incarnation, Melanchthon makes it evident that, to his mind, all these dogmata on which the schoolmen had so perseveringly exercised the subtleties of their dialectic, were but mysteries, no doubt worthy of respect, but which we ought not to scrutinise too closely for fear of obscuring the evidence for the Redemption. "Did Paul," says he, "in that compendium of Christian doctrine which he addressed to the Romans, take to philosophising on the mysteries of the Trinity, the modus of the Incarnation, or on active and passive creation? No, he occupies himself with Law, Sin and Grace, fundamental topics, on which alone the knowledge of Christ depends."[12] Such a passage savours of a reminiscence of this practical maxim from the *De Imitatione:* "What doth it profit thee to reason profoundly concerning the Trinity,

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[12] "Proinde, non est cur multum operæ ponamus in locis illis supremis: de Deo, de Unitate, de Trinitate Dei, de mysterio Creationis, de modo Incarnationis. Quæso te, quid adsecuti sunt jam tot sæculis scholastici theologistæ, cum in his locis versarentur? . . . . Paulus, in epistola quam Romanis dicavit, cum doctrinæ Christianæ compendium conscriberet, num de mysteriis Trinitatis, de modo Incarnationis, de Creatione activa et Creatione passiva philosophabatur? At, quid agit? Certe de lege, peccato, gratia, quibus locis solis Christi cognitio pendet." Melanchthon, *Loci Communes rerum theologicarum seu Hypotyposes Theologicæ*, in *Opp.* edit. Bretschneider, vol. xxi. 84, 85. ["Accordingly, we are not called upon to expend much labour upon those supreme topics, viz. concerning God, his Unity, his Trinity, the mystery of Creation, the modus of the Incarnation. I ask what has been gained by the scholastic theologians, though they have been employed upon these topics for so many centuries? . . . . When Paul, in the Epistle which he addressed to the Romans, wrote a compend of the Christian doctrine, did he philosophise about the mysteries of the Trinity, the modus of the Incarnation, Creation active and Creation passive? No. But of what does he actually treat? Assuredly of law, sin, grace, topics on which alone the knowledge of Christ depends."]

if thou be void of humility, and thereby displeasing to the Trinity?"[13]

True it is that afterwards, influenced by the overflow of extreme opinions, Melanchthon felt himself forced as a matter of duty into reaction against the Antitrinitarians. Thus, from the time of the first edition of the Augsburg Confession (1530), he condemned the doctrine of the new-fangled (*neoterici*) as well as of the ancient disciples of Paul of Samosata; and, later, in a letter addressed to the Venetian Senate (1539), he utters an energetic warning against the ideas of Michael Servetus, and undertakes a new proof of the Trinitarian dogma.

Yet, in his earlier correspondence, it is easy to see that he approached these questions with misgiving rather than with zest. For example, he writes (1533) to Camerarius: "Concerning the Trinity, you know that I have always feared lest these controversies should some day break out. Good heavens! what tragedies will these questions excite, when put to those who come after us: Is the Word a hypostasis? Is the Spirit a hypostasis? For my part," he concludes, "I rely on those express declarations of the Scripture which command us to invoke Christ, for this is to assign to him the honours of Divinity, and it is a practice full of comfort."[14]

Luther, with his practical good sense, could not fail to share the gentle Melanchthon's antipathy to these irritating

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[13] *De Imit. F. C.* lib. i. cap. 1.

[14] "Περὶ τῆς Τριάδος scis me semper veritum esse, fore ut hæc aliquando erumperent. Bone Deus! quales tragœdias excitabit hæc quæstio ad posteros, ἐι ἐστὶν ὑπόστασις ὁ Λόγος; ἐι εστὶν ὑπόστασις τὸ Πνεῦμα; Ego me refero ad illas Scripturæ voces, quæ jubent invocare Christum, quod est ei honorem divinitatis tribuere, et plenum consolationis est." Melanchthon to Joachim Kammermeister, 9 Feb. 1533.—Bretschneider, vol. ii. 629, 630. Cf. vol. iii. 745.

problems. In two curious Sermons, preached on Trinity Sunday, the Wittenberg doctor, while adhering to the doctrine of the three-fold personality of God, confesses that there is here an unfathomable mystery; and, as regards its dogmatic expression, we must be content with Scripture terms, for God alone knows His own nature, or how it is right to speak on this matter. As for the personality of the Holy Spirit, Luther had no clear conception of it.[15] In his reply to Latomus, Luther went so far as to declare that the word *homoousios* was nowhere to be found in the Scriptures, that it was a hateful word to him, and that it would be much better to invoke the Deity under the name of God than under that of Trinity.[16] What confirms our suspicions is that, in his translation of the Bible, Luther omits, as being

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[15] "Man diesen Namen, Dreifaltigkeit, nirgend findet in der Schrift, sondern die Menschen haben ihn erdacht. . . . Darum . . . viel besser spräche man, Gott, denn die Dreifaltigkeit. Diess Wort bedeutet aber, dass Gott dreifaltig ist in den Personen." "Er [der heilige Geist] ist das damit der Vater durch Christum und in Christo Alles wirkt und lebendig macht." Luther's *Werke*, Erlangen edit., vol. xii. 378, xxii. 20. Cf. Maurice Schwalb, *Luther, ses Opinions religieuses et morales dans la Première Période de la Réformation.* Strassburg, 1866. ["This name Trinity is nowhere found in Scripture, but is the invention of men. . . . Therefore . . . it were much better to say 'God' than 'Trinity.' This word signifies, however, that God is tri-personal." "He (the Holy Ghost) is that whereby the Father worketh and quickeneth all things, through Christ and in Christ."]

[16] Paulus præcipit . . . ut vitares prophanas vocum novitates . . . et sacris vocum antiquitatibus inhæreres. . . . Nec est quod mihi 'homoousion' illud objectes, adversus Arrianos receptum. Non fuit receptum a multis, iisque præclarissimis, quod et Hieronymus optavit aboleri. . . . Nec Hilarius hic aliud habuit quod responderet, quam quod idem per id vocabuli significaretur, quod res esset; et tota Scriptura haberet id, quod in præsenti non datur. . . . Quod si odit anima mea vocem 'homoousion' et nolim ea uti, non ero hæreticus. . . . Scripturæ enim synceritas custodienda est, nec præsumat homo suo ore eloqui, aut clarius, aut syncerius, quam Deus elocutus est ore suo."—*M. Lutheri Opera Omnia*, ed. Amsdorf, Jena,

an interpolation, the passage on the Trinity in the First Epistle of John, chap. v. ver. 7; and in the Litany he gets rid of the invocation, "*Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus: miserere nobis.*" These two suppressions, it must be acknowledged, were altogether in favour of the Antitrinitarians.[17]

If, from the German, we now pass to the French branch of the Reformation, we shall observe the same indifference at the outset in regard to the Trinity. This coldness, then, towards the dogma of a tri-personal God is no isolated fact,

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vol. ii. 1560, p. 407; *Epistola M. L.; Rationis Latomianæ, pro incendiariis Lovaniensis Scholæ Sophistis redditæ, Lutherana Confutatio.* ["Paul exhorts . . . to avoid profane novelties of words, . . . and cleave to the ancient sacred forms of speech. . . . Nor may you bring up against me that word *homoousios*, received in opposition to the Arians. Received it was not, by many, and those of the first mark; and even Jerome wished it well away. . . . Nor had Hilary any defence to make for it, except that what was denoted by this vocable answered to the fact; and that the whole run of Scripture had the idea, which is not expressly set forth. . . . But if my soul hateth the word *homoousios*, and I be unwilling to use it, I shall not therefore be a heretic. . . . For we must guard the soundness of the Scripture; and let not man presume to speak more clearly or more soundly than God hath spoken with His own mouth."]

[17] Catholic Litany of the Holy Virgin.

Kyrie eleison! Christe eleison!
Christe audi nos! Christe exaudi nos!
Pater de cœlis Deus: miserere nobis!
Fili redemptor mundi Deus: miserere nobis!
Spiritus Sancte Deus: miserere nobis!
Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus: miserere nobis!
Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis!

Litany, corrected by Luther.

Kyrie: Eleison.
Christe: Eleison.
Pater de cœlis Deus:
Fili redemptor mundi Deus:
Spiritus sancte Deus:
Miserere nobis!

Luther's *Werke*, edit. De Wette, vol. lvi. 362.

it is a phenomenon naturally arising from the two-fold principle of the Reformation, the authority of Scripture and justification by faith. Let us now open Farel's *Sommaire et briève Déclaration d'aucuns lieux fort nécessaires à ung chacun chrétien* (Brief Summary of topics very needful for every Christian), that excellent manual of evangelical doctrine, which, by its conciseness of form and freshness of expression, contributed so much to make the Reformation popular in the French-speaking countries. In vain we look in it for the topics of the Trinity, the personality of the Holy Spirit, or even the divinity of Jesus. Christ is thus defined: "true Son of God, the arm, power, word, and wisdom of the Father, whom, as man, God has chosen as His holy temple and tabernacle, wherein dwelleth all the Godhead, not figuratively, but bodily and in truth." And, as if to justify his omissions, Farel says expressly: "All that has not clear and firm foundation in the Scripture is to be rejected in dealing with salvation and the nature of God, which are spiritual and heavenly things."[18]

Accused, on this account, of leaguing with the Anabaptists and Servetans, Farel felt bound to add an explicit adhesion to the doctrine of the Trinity in his edition of 1552, published at Geneva during the year before the trial of Michael Servetus.[19]

Finally, not even Calvin, that implacable adversary of

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[18] Edition of 1532, reprinted by J. G. Fick, with Preface by Professor Baum. Geneva, 1867.

[19] On 23 Aug. 1534, Johann Zwick, pastor at Constanz, wrote to Vadian, of Claude Aliodi (of Savoy), who a short time before had been pastor at Neuchâtel: "*Collegam se habere testatur qui paria secum opinatur, Farellum scilicet, si modo non est falsus in illum.*" ["He affirms that he has a colleague whose opinions are on a par with his own, Farel to wit, if he be not a false witness against him."] Now, that Claude (of Savoy) had made in the church of Constanz profession of Antitrinitarianism, see Herminjard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs*, iii. 173, 174, n. 2 and 7.

Michael Servetus and Gentile, could keep free of the movement directed against the doctrine of the Trinity.[20] This is seen even in his writings against Servetus, and in his letters to the Polish Brethren against Stancaro,[21] in which he acknowledges that the terms *Trinitas* and *homoousia* savour

[20] See his Disputation with Caroli, first Doctor of the Sorbonne, then pastor at Lausanne, who charged Calvin with Arianism. "'Facessant,' [aiebat Caroli] 'novæ Confessiones, ac tribus symbolis potius subscribamus.' Ad hæc Calvinus, '*Nos in Dei unius fidem jurasse*,' respondit, '*non Athanasii, cujus symbolum nulla unquam legitima Ecclesia approbasset.*'" Herminjard, *ut sup.*, iv. 185, Letter of Feb. 1537. ["'Away with new Confessions,' said Caroli, 'and let us rather subscribe to the three Creeds.' Calvin replied, 'We have pledged ourselves to faith in the One God, not to faith in Athanasius, whose Creed has never received the approbation of any rightful Church.'"]

[21] *Calvini Opera*, ed. Baum, Cunitz and Reuss, vol. ix. 332—358. (Cf. Letter from Prince Radziwill to Calvin, on the Trinity, 6 July, 1564, xx. 4125.)

1. *Responsum ad Fratres Polonos, quomodo mediator sit Christus, contra Stancarum* (1560).

2. *Ministrorum Ecclesiæ Genevensis Responsio, ad Nobiles Polonos, et Franciscum Stancarum* (March, 1561).

3. *Brevis Admonitio* (1563).

4. *Epistola Joannis Calvini, qua fidem Admonitionis nuper editæ apud Polonos confirmat* (1563). In this he says: "Tenenda quoque est loquendi ratio Scripturæ trita, dum Christus, quatenus mediator est, inferior Patre statuitur. . . . Utile . . . supersedere a formulis loquendi . . . a Scripturæ usu remotis. . . . Precatio vulgo trita: 'Sancta Trinitas unus Deus: miserere nostri,' mihi non placet, ac omnino barbariem sapit. Nolim igitur vos de rebus supervacuis litigare, modo illibatum maneat quod dixi de tribus in una essentia personis." ["Moreover, we must adhere to the usual phraseology of Scripture, by which Christ, as mediator, is made inferior to the Father. . . . It is well . . . to set aside forms of speech . . . diverging from Scriptural usage. . . . The hackneyed prayer in common use, 'Holy Trinity one God: have mercy on us,' does not commend itself to me, and altogether savours of barbarism. Therefore I would not have you stickle for things of no consequence, provided you keep unimpaired the doctrine I have laid down respecting the three Persons in one Essence."]

Cf. supra, p. 14, the Litany of the Virgin, as corrected by Luther.

of the barbarism of the Schools. This is especially evident in his Harmony based on the Gospel according to St. Matthew, and in his Commentaries on the Fourth Gospel. Of all the passages quoted by orthodoxy in favour of the Trinity, Calvin does not admit a single one in the sense attached to it by the Catholics. And, in his exegesis of the passages, John v. 19, x. 30, xvii. 21, he explicitly distinguishes Jesus Christ, as the Son, from the eternal Logos, a hypostasis of the Divinity, by insisting that Christ speaks here in his human nature. In respect of his divine nature, he declares Christ to be inferior to God the Father.[22]

Hence, by a logical consequence, Calvin, in his catechisms and prayers, never addresses either the Son or the Holy Spirit, but God alone,[23] in which he shows himself more consistent than Fausto Sozzini, who admits the invocation of Jesus Christ as God.

This brief review of the teachings of the Reformers respecting the Trinity suffices to prove that the Antitrinitarian movement was in reality the logical development of the Protestant principle, and that, when they unreservedly adopted the Athanasian Creed, they fell into an inconsistency.[24]

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[22] Scholten, *ut sup.*, vol. ii. 231, 233.

[23] [Note also that Calvin particularly resented the term Trinitarian, first applied to its present use by Servetus, and made it a count in his indictment that Servetus had called believers in a tripersonal God *Trinitaires.*]

[24] Hulderich Zwingli expresses himself in a Sabellian sense. About 1525, he states his doctrine in these terms: "Nos enim sic Deum agnoscendum . . . docemus, ut sive Patrem eum nomines, sive Filium, sive Spiritum Sanctum, perpetuo tamen eum intelligas, qui solus bonus, justus . . . est. Contra, cum Filio omnia tribuimus, ei tribuimus qui id est quod Pater, quod Spiritus Sanctus; cujus regnum est, cujus potentia, eodem jure quo Patris et Spiritus Sancti: ipse enim hoc ipsum est quod Pater, quod Spiritus Sanctus, servato nihilominus notionum, ut vocant, discrimine." *De Vera et Falsa Religione.* ["For we teach that God is in such wise to be acknowledged . . . that whether you call him Father, or Son, or Holy

By degrees, a separation was realised between the radical parties of the Reformation. The Antitrinitarians, repulsed by all the churches, Calvinist, Zwinglian or Lutheran, as a new sort of Arians, who insulted the divinity of Christ, and even as Atheists, who demolished the edifice of Revelation, learned the necessity of declining all corporate union with Anabaptists and Pantheists. It is the merit of Fausto Sozzini and his co-workers that they reached the conception of a theological system of which the Divine Unity and the life eternal were the fundamental positions, and founded a church with intelligible sacraments and a rational form of worship. Hence it is with justice that the name of this Reformer has been attached to the form of Unitarian Christianity which we have just defined. We must, however, beware of believing, on the testimony of his virulent opponents that Fausto Sozzini impugned the divine majesty of Christ. If, relying on certain texts of Scripture, he refused to attribute to Jesus participation in the Divine essence, on the other hand he proclaimed him to be God, in virtue of his office of Redeemer and his immaculate sanctity. In his eyes, the supreme end of the Christian religion was to secure man's admission to eternal life; and it was to this end that Jesus died and rose again.[25] And in this, Sozzini's ideas much resemble the Scriptural view adopted by Melanchthon in his letter to Camerarius. The obligatory adoration of

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Spirit, you are still to understand that Being who alone is good and just. . . . And, *vice versâ*, when we attribute all to the Son, it is to that Being who is identical with the Father and the Holy Spirit, whose kingdom and power belong to him by the same right by which they belong to the Father and to the Holy Spirit: for he is the self-same Being as the Father and the Holy Spirit; the three conceptions are notwithstanding to be kept distinct."] Zwinglii *Opp.* iii. 179, 180.

[25] Cf. *F. Socini Opera*, 2 vols. folio, in the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*, Irenopolis (Amsterdam), "post annum Domini 1656," i.e. 1665 (Sand).

Christ even became the cause of serious conflict among the Transylvanian brethren, Ferencz (Francis) Dávid openly refusing divine honours to Jesus; a course which was followed in Poland by the Arians, and in Lithuania by Szymon Budny.

As for the Holy Spirit, in the Socinian system it was but an *alter ego* of the ascended Christ, without distinct personality; a moral influence of the grace of God, to achieve the work of sanctification. Such is, with some modifications, the official doctrine which still binds the Unitarian churches of Transylvania; a doctrine which may be accused of a cold Deism and of a purely juridical conception of justification, but which cannot be denied the merits of a penetrating criticism, and great logical and moral strength. If the Socinians have distanced Christ from God, they have, on the other hand, brought him nearer to man, by representing him as being like unto us in all things, sin excepted; and thus they are truly, whatever may be said to the contrary, legitimate sons of that Reformation of which the capital aim was to place the sinner in immediate relations with his Saviour.

It was reserved for the English to complete the work begun by the Polish brethren, and to free the Unitarian system from the inconsistencies which Fausto Sozzini had permitted to remain in it. The Anglo-Saxon race brought to the examination of this theological problem those superior qualities which have made it at the present date the advanced guard of civilisation in the world—great critical sagacity, rare straightforwardness of mind, and an inflexible morality.

Reverting with Calvin to the old apostolical tradition, the later English Unitarians have reserved to God alone the tribute of their addresses in prayer. But instead of conceiving Him as a cold and abstract causality, governing the moral as well as the physical world by inexorable law, they have grasped the conception of God as Ruler of consciences and Father of spirits; the unipersonal and life-giving Spirit, whose essential attribute is love, and who desires the happi-

ness of every soul, made in His image. Christ, in their eyes, is the supreme revealer of the truths essential to salvation, and the living word of God; by nature, Son of man, in his goodness and perfect holiness he has a right to the title, Son of God; but he never claimed the worship reserved to the Father, who is the only true God. As for man, he is truly free and responsible before God; not a slave of sin, incapable of doing any good. Endowed with an immortal soul of divine extraction, he communicates with God through the Holy Spirit; and in another life he will be treated in accordance with his moral efforts, not according to his dogmatic opinions. Finally, the Bible is the treasure which contains the revelations of God in the Old and New Testaments; but this revelation is not all, and the Bible must be supplemented by the revelations of God in nature, in history, and in conscience.

Such are the principal elements of the Unitarian Christianity held in the seventeenth century by Bidle, Milton and Locke; by Newton, Priestley and Lindsey[26] in the eighteenth century; and in the nineteenth by Channing, Martineau and Parker.

Everybody now knows that it is with good reason that Locke and Newton are classed as Unitarians. Still more certain is it that the immortal author of Paradise Lost held ideas that were clearly Antitrinitarian.[27] In our own century two distinguished American thinkers have shed the brighest lustre on the Unitarian Christianity of the Anglo-Saxon race: Channing, by his admirable simplicity of heart and his intelligent sympathy with the sons of toil, and Theodore

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[26] A. Réville, *ut sup.*, p. 154. Cf. Dr. Martineau, *Three Stages of Unitarian Theology;* W. Gaskell, *Strong Points of Unitarian Christianity.* London: British and Foreign Unitarian Association, 1869-70.

[27] R. Wallace, *Antitrinitarian Biography*, art. Milton. 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1850.

Parker, by his noble vindication of freedom for the slave and his nobility of character, have given to Unitarianism that which it lacked in its Socinian stage, as regards the life of the heart and knowledge of the soul's needs. It may be said that in Channing Unitarian Christianity attained the apogee of its development, and manifested all the power of its social and emancipating activity. The Christianity of Channing appears to us a synthesis of revelation and reason, brought within the comprehension of all.[28]

If we have made sure our ground so far, the question which now faces us is the following: Unitarian Christianity being the boldest expression of Protestantism, the extreme term of the development of the scriptural and rational principles of the Reformation, how comes it that it has attained its fullest development among a people so conservative and so wedded to established forms as the English? What are the causes, external or internal, which have produced in such a country the opposite extremes of Protestantism—on the one hand Unitarianism, and on the other Ritualism? How has the same soil given birth to a John Bidle and a Dr. Pusey? Several solutions present themselves at once to the mind. It might be possible, for example, to view Unitarianism as a direct graft of Polish Socinianism on the venerable trunk of the Anglican Church. Some, on the contrary, insist that it is an importation of Dutch Anabaptism; and this belief has obtained credence with one of the most serious historians of Socinianism.[29] Finally, others have thought that, like Puritanism, Unitarianism has only been an attempt to acclimatise in England the ideas of cer-

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[28] Laboulaye, Preface to the French translation of Channing's Works (*Œuvres de Channing:* Paris, 1854). Renan, *Etudes Religieuses* (Channing).

[29] Père Louis Anastase Guichard, *Histoire du Socinianisme:* Paris, 1723, 4to (anonymous).

tain Swiss Reformers. As generally happens in the case of such opposite solutions, there is a certain amount of truth in each of these views, although not one of them seems to us entirely adequate. However this may be, there is a preliminary problem to be solved. We must first ascertain whether English Unitarian Christianity is or is not of purely English origin. It is with the consideration of this question that our investigations will begin.

CHAPTER I.

Was Unitarian Christianity of English origin?—Its relation to Wiclif and the Lollards; to Reginald Pecock; to the Nonconformists.—The Anglican Church.

THE essential principles of Unitarian Christianity may be reduced to the following two. First stands the principle that God is a simple, individual substance, whose leading attribute is love. Whence it follows that Jesus Christ could not be a hypostasis (constituent personality) of the Godhead, but is man created in God's image, and realising in perfection the spiritual ideal of which the first Adam fell short. Or, in other words, God is unipersonal; and Jesus Christ the unique Mediator between God and man. The second principle is, that the revelation contained in the Holy Scriptures harmonises with the testimony of conscience and reason; and consequently that the sole rightful authority in matters of faith is the Bible, checked by free criticism.[1]

This being the definition with which we start, let us try to discover whether Unitarianism may not have had its original roots in the religious soil of England. It would be useless to go further back than Wiclif. Before his time, the Anglican Church was the most catholic, the most orthodox, the most ultramontane in Europe.[2] Everybody knows at

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[1] Laboulaye, *ut sup.*, 9 ff.

[2] G. Lechler, *J. von Wiclif und die Vorgeschichte der Reformation*, vol. i. 213: Leipz. 1873. [A portion of this work, under the title, *John Wiclif and his English Precursors*, has been translated by Peter Lorimer, D.D. (London: Kegan Paul and Co., 1881). See pp. 17, 18, 51 53.]

what price John Lackland redeemed his crown; but no one will ever know what Peter's pence cost the English, in the three centuries during which they were obliged to pay that tribute to the Holy See. After the annihilation of the sect of the Culdees, the last relic of Eastern Christianity, the Roman Church reigned absolute mistress over the churches of Great Britain; and, thanks to their insular position, had been able to keep them from the infiltration of any continental heresies. The Waldenses appear never to have had any disciples here.

John Wiclif (b. circ. 1324, d. 1384) is the first heretic of modern times in England. Was he unorthodox as regards the doctrines of the Trinity, and of the divinity of Jesus Christ? Not so. A mere glance at his chief work, the *Trialogus*,[3] shows us that Wiclif adopted the doctrine of the Trinity as it had been elaborated by Tertullian, Athanasius and Augustine, and brought to its complete development in the *Symbolum Quicumque*. Although Holy Scripture was in his eyes "Goddis lawe," that is to say the normal and sufficient authority in matters of faith, the Gospel Doctor (*Doctor Evangelicus*) does not appear to have dreamed of seeking there the grounds of the doctrine of the Trinity. He prefers to study it from a speculative point of view. Borrowing from St. Augustine his Platonic ideas, Wiclif sees, in the Father, the power which God has of knowing Himself and the world; in the Son, the actual consciousness which God necessarily possesses of Himself; and in the Holy Spirit, the consequent return of God to rest upon Himself in divine repose.[4] From the point of view of the Realist school

[3] Jeremy Collier, *Eccl. Hist. of Gr. Brit.* (edit. Barham, 1840), iii. 143.

[4] See F. C. Baur, *ut sup.*, ii. 901. Cf. Wiclif, *Trialogus*, lib. i. cap. 6. "Certum est quod [Deus] habet potentiam ad se et ad alia cognoscendum, et illa potentia dicitur Deus Pater. Et quantum potest se ipsum cognoscere, tantum se ipsum necessario cognoscit, et illa notitia dicitur Deus Filius. Et sicut non potest esse quod sic posset se ipsum cognoscere,

to which he belonged, the Rector of Lutterworth sees in all these ideas real and living objects. He especially clings to the conception of God the Son as the *Logos*, that is to say, at once the Consciousness and the Reason, whereby God enters into relations with the world. To him, this *Logos* is the true Mediator. It will be seen that, in this system, the humanity of Christ completely disappears; the human mask drops off, the God abides in his redeeming but absolutely transcendent majesty. We are a long way from the fundamental principle of Unitarianism.

Nevertheless, on a closer scrutiny it will be seen that Wiclif opens the way for the later theology by his theory of the sources of knowledge. In the main, Wiclif puts Scripture in the place of the second of the two sources allowed by the scholastic doctors, which were, reason (*ratio*) and the tradition of the Church (*auctoritas*). The Bible is in his eyes the Magna Charta of the Church, in the same way as the Charter of 1215 is the safeguard of the English State. As regards exegesis, it is the Holy Spirit, not the tradition of the Fathers or the voice of the Pope, that reveals to us the meaning of the inspired word. Further, the divine law revealed in the Bible did not come to abolish, but to fulfil, the natural law written in the consciousness of mankind by the same God. Far from being impotent or contrary to Revelation, this "natural light" is its best auxiliary. This

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nisi cognoscat actualiter quantum potest; sic non potest esse, quod sic actualiter se cognoscat, nisi in seipso finaliter quietetur; et illa quietatio est Spiritus Sanctus." ["Certain is it that [God] hath a potency whereby He may know Himself and other matters; and that potency is called God the Father. And as He can know Himself, so doth He of necessity know Himself, and that knowing is called God the Son. And like as it cannot be that He could thus know Himself, without that He do actually know Himself, as He can; so can it not be that thus He actually doth know Himself, without that in Himself He finally do take rest; and that taking of rest is the Holy Spirit."]

it was that enlightened the pagan philosophers before the advent of Jesus Christ, and by its aid Plato was able to discover that the Godhead is three-fold and at the same time one. Yet faith alone, aided by divine grace and illumination, can attain a meritorious, that is to say, a saving, knowledge of the mystery of the Trinity.[5] Thus Wiclif is really a rationalist as regards his method; and if he retained the Trinitarian dogma, it was because he did not take the trouble of checking it by a more thorough criticism of the Gospels. He admits the essential harmony of Reason and Revelation, and thereby he is truly one of the forerunners of the "reasonable" Christianity of Locke and Channing.

Had not Wiclif himself a glimpse of better days when he penned these prophetic words: "I look forward to the time when some brethren whom God shall condescend to teach will be thoroughly converted to the primitive religion of Christ; and that such persons, after they have gained their liberty from Antichrist, will return freely to the original doctrine of Jesus; and then they will edify the Church, as did Paul"?[6]

It is only given to superior minds to reconcile the antinomies of religious thought. After Wiclif, divorce was proclaimed between the two great witnesses of divine truth. The Lollards, heirs of the piety but not of the science of the Gospel Doctor, exaggerated the principle of Scriptural authority, while Reginald Pecock, their antagonist, goes so far as to make reason the guiding principle in matters of faith. The Lollards, who at the outset counted in their ranks several distinguished representatives of the English clergy and of the University of Oxford—Nicholas Hereford,

[5] G. Lechler, *ut sup.*, cap. viii. sec. iii. 262 ff.: *The Source of Christian Truth.*

[6] See title-page to *A Historical Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Unitarian Christian Doctrine in Modern Times*, with Preface by Robert Spears. London, 1877.

John Purvey, John Ashton and William Thorpe—became, after the lapse of a generation, a religious society of laymen—"Bible-men," as they were often called. We must not, then, expect on their part much theological culture; what they demanded, above anything else, was the reformation of the institutions and the priesthood of the Church, on the footing and by the agency of Biblical preaching. Everything that was not founded on the written Word was bad and must be abolished. Thus they inveighed against plurality of livings; against the absenteeism and the dumbness of the bishops, whose preaching was done by ignorant monks; against the mendicant orders, and against tithes. They pleaded against warfare, and indeed against the taking of human life in any form. Their boldest step was to call in question the miracle of the Mass. They demanded communion in both kinds, and the abolition of auricular confession. They rejected prayers for the dead. The remaining dogmata and sacraments they, like Wiclif, retained in their integrity.[7]

Reginald Pecock, Bishop of St. Asaph and afterwards of Chichester (b. 1398, d. about 1460), is one of the most remarkable figures of the fifteenth century. He exhibits the curious spectacle of a representative of the Catholic hierarchy who, while desirous of defending it against the attacks of the Lollards, himself fell into heresy, and was mercilessly deprived by his Metropolitan. Nothing was wanting to make him a martyr for the truth, except a firmer resolution and the courage to face the tortures of the stake. Yet it is not by us that his retractation shall be set down as a crime. It is not given to all men to become martyrs to their convictions. By the side of a John Hus and a Jerome of Prag, there is room for a Galileo. Pecock was pre-eminently a man of sincere and generous spirit, of clear and moderate mind. He was perhaps the only man of his century who

[7] G. Lechler, *ut sup.*, vol. i. 213.

thought, with John Hus, that it is far better to persuade a heretic than to burn him; and that God alone, who reads the inmost recesses of the soul, has the right to pass sentence of damnation. Accordingly, being persuaded that the Lollards went too far in their criticisms of ecclesiastical institutions and the priesthood, he devoted all the powers of his mind to bring them back again within the fold of the Established Church. In London, where for thirteen years he was Master of Whittington College (the College of the Holy Spirit and St. Mary, founded by Sir Richard Whittington) and Rector of St. Michael Royal, he entered into relations with those who were still called "knowen men"[8] (that is to say, those whom God has predestined to salvation, and who have come to know it by the understanding of His Word). Having become later on Bishop of St. Asaph, and ultimately of Chichester, he published in succession three books addressed to the Lollards: *The Repressing of over much Witing the Clergie* (1449 Latin, 1456 English), the *Book of Faith* (1450 Latin, 1456 English), and the *Donat.*

In these several works, Pecock endeavours to demonstrate the falsity of the Lollard principle, "There is nothing true outside of the Scripture." He reminds them that, shortly before the coming of Jesus Christ, the light of truth, augmented by philosophy, had enlightened the pagans, in so much that the greater part of them had become emancipated from the worship of idols; and he specifies several institutions of the Church, such as baptism and the apostolate, which had been founded long before the sacred collection was formed. On the other hand, the Bishop of Chichester frankly acknowledges the errors of tradition, and the abuses

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[8] Pecock's *Repressor*, Part i. cap. 11, p. 53. Cf. Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, vol. iv. 221. [Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 19: "It bihoueth eresies to be that thei that ben preued ben openli knowen in ghou" (Wiclif's translation). Cf. also "the Men," in the Highlands of Scotland to-day.]

to which certain institutions, such as monachism, had given rise.[9]

In the last resort, Pecock declares that Christians are only bound by the canons of the Church in so far as they are conformable to common sense. Thus he proclaims reason as the highest source of knowledge. This was too much for the hierarchy of the fifteenth century. The restoration of the Lollards to the Church appeared to the Archbishop of Canterbury too dearly bought at the sacrifice of infallibility and tradition. The unfortunate Bishop of Chichester, after a career of a half century devoted to the search for truth and peace, was condemned to a humiliating retractation, which he had to make (4th Dec. 1457) at St. Paul's Cross, the very place where he had preached his first sermon in 1447. He was shut up in Thorney Abbey for the remainder of his days, and did not long survive this double punishment.

Throughout this controversy between Pecock and the Lollards, the Trinity was not called in question, so far as we know. The matters at stake were the two contrasted principles of Reason and Scripture. Each of these principles possessed a strong vitality; and they survived the conflict, while the infallibility of the Church, denied by them both, was seriously shaken. Reginald Pecock was the father of English Rationalism, which broke out in the seventeenth century with Herbert of Cherbury; while the scriptural principle of the Lollards, pushed as far as it would go, was sure to give birth to the Anabaptist and Antitrinitarian tendencies of the sixteenth century.

Following the movement of the Lollards, we are brought to the threshold of that great religious revolution which marked the sixteenth century, and which the Roman Catholic Church in England could not escape. Historians of the two rival confessions have been very unjust toward the

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[9] G. Lechler, *ut sup.*, vol. ii. 369—415.

Anglican Reformation. Catholics are resolved to see nothing in it but the caprices of the royal Bluebeard; and Protestants affect to treat it as a bastard daughter of Catholicism. A few, however, as recently Professor Nippold, of Berne, have set themselves to do away with this prejudice, and to extol the eminent services rendered by this Church to the interests of religious life in England. "The Nonconformists," he observes, "gathered into their barns the best of the harvest prepared by the sowers of the Episcopal Church."[10]

In our opinion, too, the violent and arbitrary acts of Henry VIII. represent only the preliminary process which emancipated the Church of England from the crushing supremacy of the Holy See, and rendered possible a real reformation of religious and of ecclesiastical life. These acts, however, would not have been possible, even to an all-powerful despot, had they not been sustained by the opinion of the majority in the Commons. It is too frequently forgotten that, since the reign of Edward III. (1327—1377), the English Crown had struggled for the independence of the civil power, and for the abolition of the fiscal spoliation practised by the Holy See.[11] Wiclif had been the adviser of the Crown in this legal resistance, and one of the negociators at the Convention of Bruges. Since then there had been alternations of resistance and weakness in the English attitude towards the Court of Rome; but the policy of emancipation from clerical thraldom was always popular in England, and this it was which gave Henry VIII. liberty to act so vigorously.

The aristocratic and hierarchical tendency of a reform effected by the upper stratum is represented in the English

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[10] F. Nippold, *Handbuch der neuesten Kirchengeschichte*, 3rd edit. vol. i. 71: Elberfeld, 1880.

[11] See Montagu Burrows, *Wiclif's Place in History*, pp. 42 ff.: London, 1882.

Reformation by Thomas Cromwell, Keeper of the Privy Seal, the minion of Henry VIII., and pre-eminently by Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. Cranmer was a thorough politician, a typical English Tory, conservative, but too intelligent not to carry out indispensable reforms just in time. His principle was, to take steps with a sagacious slowness. He began by signing and obtaining the Convocation's acceptance of certain "Articles devised by the Kinges Highnes Majestie, to stablyshe Christen quietnes and unitie among us, and to avoyde contentious opinions" (1536). These Articles of Reformation stipulated that the books contained in the complete canon of the Bible, with the three Creeds, namely, the Apostles', the Nicene and the Athanasian, all interpreted according to the sense of "the holy approved Doctors of the Church," were to be made the foundation of the Christian faith. Cranmer's idea was to accomplish the reformation of dogma and ritual slowly and prudently, in order not to provoke violent reactions. This did not commend itself to the partisans of reform in the popular sense, who, without taking into account the worldly interests of those in place and power, would have put down at one stroke Catholic institutions and Catholic rites, as the sources of many an abuse. These partisans, recruited largely from the ranks of the Lollards, though deprived of the services of the travelling preachers of earlier days, had still itinerant readers, who went from place to place holding secret assemblies, in which were read the English Bible, and other popular writings of Wiclif, especially the *Wicket*. Generally they had large portions of the Scriptures by heart, and went among themselves by those same titles of Bible-men, or "knowen men,"[12] which we have already met with in the writings of Pecock a century and a half before.

Between these two tendencies, which F. Guizot was the

[12] G. Lechler, *ut sup.*, vol. ii. 456 ff.

first to denote with precision in his *History of the English Revolution*,[13] and which we will designate as Reformation and Revolution, the struggle soon broke out. Henry VIII., declared by statute "the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England" (1532), and being already Defender of the Catholic Faith, abused the royal prerogative to pass the *Six Articles* of 1539, which re-established the dogma of the Real Presence, communion in one kind, the celibacy of the clergy, vows, private masses, and auricular confession. These Articles, and the severities with which the king chastised the Nonconformists, excited general protest. The Act could not survive its author, and was withdrawn on the accession of the pious Edward VI.

It is from this too short reign (1547—1553) that the birth of the Anglican Church really dates. A third element arose to co-operate in its formation, the influence of the Lutheran Reformation, exerted in part by the books of Luther, in part by the letters of Melanchthon (Schwartzerde) and Osiander (Hosmann), lastly in part by the presence of the numerous refugees who sought in Great Britain an asylum from the persecution which raged on the continent. The influence of the writings of the Doctor of Wittenberg is incontestable. It transpires in the very violence of the refutations of Henry VIII. Still the theologians of Great Britain could never accept the doctrine of a *servum arbitrium* (compulsory choice) and a radical powerlessness of the human will; hence they felt themselves more drawn towards the synergistic principle of Melanchthon (consent of the will). Cranmer even invited Melanchthon to visit England. This step was no more successful than the like invitation of Francis I. had been, and it was more especially with Osiander of Nürnberg that Cranmer kept up a correspondence.

It is a remarkable fact that the Augustinian cloister in

[13] Guizot, *Hist. de la Révol. d'Angleterre* (introductory *Discours*).

London was the spot which became the point of contact for these two last-named tendencies. There it was that the descendants of the Lollards, the Bible-men, met the followers of the rule of St. Augustine, who had embraced the doctrines of their illustrious brother of Erfurt. This rapid dissemination of the writings of Luther among the principal Augustinian convents in Europe was truly providential. The fraternal bond, in this instance, served the cause of liberty. In Antwerp, in Turin, and in London, the Austin friars were the agents in causing the first sparks of evangelical truth to flash from amid the darkness of the reigning scholasticism. A curious document shows us two of these Bible-readers going under cover "to Frear Barons, then being at the Freers Augustines in London, to buy a New Testament in Englishe" as newly printed, and showing him some old manuscripts of the Gospels, and "certayne Epistles of Peter and Poule in Englishe." They spoke with him about the religious progress of their parish priest at Steeple Bumpstead (Essex), and carried back for him a letter of exhortation from the Augustine monk.[14]

From 1547, Bucer (Kuhhorn) and Fagius (Buchlein), Ochino (Tomassini) and Vermigli, came into close relations with Ridley and Latimer, the representatives of the spirit of Wiclif. These picked theologians of the continent, welcomed by Archbishop Cranmer, and placed in the principal chairs of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, helped to make the Anglican Church the most cosmopolitan and, in certain respects, the most synthetic body that one can conceive. The first *Book of Common Prayer*, published in 1549 and including the new Liturgy of 1548, the *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum* of 1553, and the Thirty-nine Articles of 1563, are the products of this conjoint elaboration. Let us see if we can find any traces of Unitarianism in them.

[14] Strype, *Eccles. Memorials*, vol. i. part 2, app. No. 17. See Appendix I.

We open the Prayer Book of 1549, and here, "at Morning Prayer," we find the following rubric: "In the feasts of Christmas, the Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and upon Trinity Sunday, shall be sung or said, immediately after *Benedictus*, this confession of our Christian faith." Then follows the *Quicumque vult.*[15] A few pages further on we read the following Litany:

"O God the Father of heaven: have mercy on us, &c.
O God the Son, Redeemer of the world, &c.
O God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, &c.
O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, three Persons and one God, have mercy upon us," &c.

Thus it is clear that the English reformers retained, in their vernacular rendering, that invocation of the Holy Trinity which Luther had deemed it right to suppress. Furthermore, they inscribed at the head of the list of the Thirty-nine Articles, passed by the Convocation in 1563, these words:

"I.—*Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.*

"There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."[16]

Such to this day is the official doctrine of the Anglican Church, a doctrine Calvinian and Trinitarian. This Church, of which it has been said that it is Catholic in its hierarchy, Calvinistic in its doctrine, and Zwinglian in its Eucharistic

[15] [It was, however, retained only on the above days. On ordinary occasions the Apostles' Creed was now for the first time substituted for it.]

[16] See Book of Common Prayer (Articles of Religion). [Cf. Hardwick, *History of the Articles*, Appendix iii.: London, 1851.]

liturgy,[17] was definitively established, and became the national Church of England, under the glorious reign of Elizabeth.

Compromises in religion are, in their very nature, even more ephemeral than compromises in politics, because the religious conscience is more exacting than political conviction even the most decided. For a time they may satisfy the needs of the multitude; but, to the honour of human nature, there ever remains a certain number of consciences who tamper not with their convictions, and maintain them in spite and in face of all persecutions. It was the glory of the Anglican Church that, at a crisis in the reign of Elizabeth, it identified itself with the cause of national independence, in face of the menacing claims of Sisto V. and Philip II. The secret of its decadence is that it completely satisfies none of the tendencies of the Christian conscience, roused by the thunder-clap of Wittenberg. The remnants of Catholicism which it has retained provoked the Puritan revolt, its sacramental element was rejected by the Anabaptists and the Quakers, and finally its scholastic Christology gave rise to the protest of the Unitarians.

In subsequent chapters we shall study in detail Anabaptism and Puritanism, in their relation to Unitarian ideas.

We may, however, be permitted at once to explain the genesis of these contrasted sects. Anabaptism and Quakerism, though they sprang up in England at the distance of a century from each other, exhibit great affinities both of principle and of character. Both proceed from a violent reaction, in the name of Scripture and the Holy Spirit, against formalism in worship. Both aimed at a radical reform of such ecclesiastical rites, and even of such social institutions as appeared to them opposed to the true idea of the Church, such as military service, episcopacy, oaths, &c. George Fox,

[17] [It was Lord Chatham, on the other hand, who said: "We have a Calvinistic Creed, a Popish liturgy, and an Arminian clergy."]

in this regard, is the worthy counterpart of Menno Simons. On the other hand, they differ in the origin and tendency of their doctrines. The Anabaptists have all preserved, more or less, a reflex of the speculative mysticism of Germany, the country of their origin; while the Quakers, in spite of their pretensions to a mystical illumination, have never lost the practical character of the Anglo-Saxon race.

However, in the sphere of theodicy, the Quakers share the principle, common to all mystics, that the relation of man with God is not merely accidental and intermittent, but essential and permanent. They take for granted, to begin with, that God is Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, without going into details respecting the relations of the Persons to one another. God is pre-eminently, in their view, a self-revealing Being; in such wise that there is no way of knowing the Father without the Son, nor the Son without the Holy Spirit. Again, there is in man an organ of immediate revelation, in intimate connection with the Holy Spirit; and this they term "*semen*," "*lumen*," "*verbum Dei*." From this rapid sketch, it is manifest that it is not among the English Mystics that we are to seek the origin of the Unitarian idea.[18] These fall rather into a kind of Sabellianism.

As for Puritanism, it is, first and foremost, a thoroughgoing protest against the Episcopal hierarchy and Catholic ritual retained in the Anglican Church; a protest on behalf of the constitution of the Apostolic Church. In other words, it is, as Schoell remarks, an attempt to acclimatise in England "the ideas and practices of the Swiss Reformers." Of the three contrasted religious parties, this one it was which played the most important part in opposition to the Established Church. Its mouthpieces were, under Edward VI., John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, a friend of Bullinger,

[18] See Robert Barclay, *Theologiæ vere Christianæ Apologia:* Amsterdam, 1676, 4to. Quoted by Baur, *ut sup.*, vol. iii. 295.

who perished during the bloody reaction under Mary Tudor (1555); and, afterwards, John Knox, a disciple of Calvin, and the Reformer of Scotland. The two parties, brought together for the moment by a common persecution, found themselves more antagonistic than ever under Elizabeth; so much so, that the Puritans broke into schism in 1566, and declared, twenty years afterwards, in the foundation charter of the Presbyterian Church, that they could dispense with the help of the Government in the reformation of discipline. Notwithstanding all the vexations to which they were subjected, they adopted pretty closely the confession of faith of the Anglican Church, and, among other articles, the first one concerning the Trinity.

But the more animated and even savage grew the conflict between the Anglican and Presbyterian parties, the more did calm and reflective minds and gentle hearts feel the need of discovering, beyond and above all parties, some neutral ground where they could re-unite on a basis of reason and piety. It was this need which gave birth in philosophy to the theism of Herbert of Cherbury,[19] and in religion to the Latitudinarianism of Chillingworth and the Unitarianism of Bidle.

"Before Bidle," writes Alexander Gordon, in a letter which we have received from him, "I am not aware of any Antitrinitarian author who wrote in English, or who was of English origin. But Antitrinitarian works, written in Latin, came over from Holland." Let us therefore see if Unitarianism can be considered a Dutch importation.

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[19] G. Lechler, *Geschichte aes Englischen Deismus*, chap. i.: Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1841, 8vo. Cf. E. Sayous, *Les Déistes Anglais*. Paris, 1882.

CHAPTER II.

Was Unitarian Christianity imported into England from the Low Countries?—Its relation to Erasmus and the Anabaptists.

THE assertion just quoted corresponds with that of Père Guichard. He tells us that what allowed Socinianism to gain an entry into England was the indulgence shown (in 1535) towards certain Dutch Anabaptists, exiled on the death of Jan van Geelen.[1] Strype, again, the exact but desultory chronicler of the annals of the Reformation in Great Britain, relates that in the year 1548 Arian and Anabaptist heresies began to make their appearance. These denied pædo-baptism, the incarnation of Jesus Christ, the authority of magistrates, the lawfulness of oaths, and the rights of individual proprietorship. They pretended also that Jesus must have been really man, since he shared the attributes of human nature, such as hunger, thirst, and a visible body; and they declared that the real service rendered by Christ was, that he led mankind to the accurate knowledge of God.[2] In this class are to be reckoned John Assheton, an English priest (who afterwards recanted), and the celebrated Joan Bocher, known by the name of Joan of Kent, who spread the Scriptures abroad, and who underwent martyrdom with great courage.[3]

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[1] Guichard, *ut sup.*, p. 126.

[2] Strype, *Cranmer's Memorials*, vol. i. book ii. chap. viii. (1548).

[3] Robert Wallace, *Antitrinitarian Biography*. 3 vols. London, 1850. (Introduction, p. 6.)

If we now turn to M. de La Roche's abridgment of Brandt's *History of the Reformation in the Low Countries*, we shall light on a significant document.[4] This is the judicial examination to which an Anabaptist preacher in the province of Flanders, Herman van Flekwijk (burnt at Bruges, 10 June, 1569), was subjected by Cornelis Adriaans, of the Franciscan convent at Dordrecht, and inquisitor at Bruges, in presence of the Secretary and of the Clerk of the Inquisition:

Inquisitor. "What! Don't you believe that Christ is the second person of the Holy Trinity?"

Anabaptist. "We never call things but as they are called in Scripture. . . . . The Scripture speaks of One God, the Son of God, and the Holy Spirit."

Inq. "If you had read the Creed of St. Athanasius, you would have found in it 'God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit.'"

Anab. "I am a stranger to the Creed of St. Athanasius. It is sufficient for me to believe in the living God, and that Christ is the Son of the living God, as Peter believed; and to believe in the Holy Spirit, which the Father hath poured out upon us through Jesus Christ our Lord, as Paul says."

Inq. "You are an impertinent fellow, to fancy that God pours out His Spirit upon you, who do not believe that the Holy Spirit is God! You have borrowed those heretical opinions from the diabolical books of the cursed Erasmus, of Rotterdam, who, in his Preface to the Works of St. Hilary, pretends that this holy man says, at the end of his twelfth Book, 'That the Holy Spirit is not called God in any part of the Scripture; and that we are so bold as to call Him so, though the Fathers of the Church scrupled to give Him that name.' Will you be a follower of that Antitrinitarian?" . . . .

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[4] G. Brandt, *Histoire abrégée de la Réformation aux Pays-Bas*, 3 vols.: The Hague, 1726, vol. i. 178. [The original, in Dutch, was published at Amsterdam, 1671—1674, 4 vols. 4to, plates. It has been translated into Latin and English. Dr. Toulmin published, 1784, Flekwijk's Examination, as *A Dialogue between a Dutch Protestant and a Franciscan Friar*. See Wallace, *ut sup.*, ii. 273.]

Anab. "God forbid I should deny the divinity of Christ! We believe that he is a divine and heavenly person; . . . . I call him 'the Son of the living God,' as Peter does, and 'the Lord,' as the other Apostles call him. He is called in the Acts of the Apostles, 'Jesus of Nazareth, whom God raised from the dead.' And Paul calls him 'that man by whom God shall judge the world in righteousness.'"

Inq. "These are the wretched arguments of the cursed Erasmus, in his small treatise 'On Prayer,' and in his 'Apology to the Bishop of Seville.' If you are contented to call Christ the 'Son of God,' you do not give him a more eminent title than that which St. Luke gives to Adam." . . . .

Anab. "God forbid! We believe that the body of Christ is not earthly, like that of Adam, but that he is a heavenly man, as Paul says." . . . .

Inq. "But St. John says . . . . 'There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one.'"

Anab. "I have often heard that Erasmus, in his Annotations upon that passage, shows that this text is not in the Greek original."

"Thereupon Broer Cornelis, turning to the Secretary and the Clerk of the Inquisition, said: 'Sirs, what think you of this? Am I to blame because I attack so frequently in my sermons Erasmus, that cursed Antitrinitarian? Erasmus has done worse still. He says in his 'Annotations upon the Gospel according to St. Luke,' chapter iv. ver. 22, that a strange falsification has crept into the holy Scripture, by interpolating some words, on account of the heretics. . . . . Nay, this Antitrinitarian whom you see here, and the arch-heretic Erasmus, reproach us with having added these words, 'Who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen,' in Rom. ix. 5. Or else they pretend that this doxology ought to be translated thus: 'Of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all. God be blessed for ever. Amen.'"

We have reproduced this lengthy extract from an Inquisitorial report of 1569, because it exhibits a lively picture of the extent to which Anabaptism was saturated with Antitrinitarian ideas, as well as of the degree of influence exer-

cised by the exegesis of Erasmus on the Christology of the Reformers. It is not difficult to recognise traces of this influence in Luther's Bible and in Calvin's Commentaries. Still more decidedly was it felt in England, where Erasmus' Annotations and his Paraphrases upon the New Testament were officially introduced into every parish (1547). Moreover, the great missionary of the Renascence had resided at Oxford for several years (1498—1500), had been professor at Cambridge (1509), and had lived in intimate relations with the leaders of the new learning in England, John Colet, Linacre and Latimer. It is worth while, therefore, to investigate the measure of his own approach to Unitarian Christianity.

If we examine the passages in the writings of Erasmus bearing upon the Trinity and the divinity of Jesus Christ, we find ourselves confronted by two sets of utterances in direct opposition to each other. Those in the one set tend to destroy the chief Scriptural arguments invoked in aid of these dogmata; those in the other, on the contrary, protest with animation against accusations of Arianism, and display the official dogma. The passages coming under the former category are in general to be met with in his Annotations and in his Preface to the Works of St. Hilary.[5]

One of the most remarkable is the note upon the celebrated verse 1 John v. 7. Having justified his omission of this gloss by the testimony of the Fathers and of the oldest manuscripts, Erasmus adds (*Opp.* v. 1080):

"But some will say that this verse is an effective weapon against the Arians. Very true. But the moment it is proved that the reading did not exist of old, either among the Greeks or among the Latins, this weapon is no longer worth anything....

[5] Cf. Erasmi *Opera*, edit. Leclerc, vol. vi., 10 vols. folio: Leyden, 1706. *Annotationes ad Rom.* ix. 5; *ad Ephes.* v. 5; *ad Philipp.* ii. 6; *ad 1 Johan.* v. 7, &c. Cf. *Divi Hilarii, Pictavorum Episcopi, Lucubrationes, per Erasmum emendatæ:* Basle, 1523. See Appendix II.

Even admitting it were undisputed, do we think the Arians such blockheads as not to have applied the same interpretation [as in the previous verse] to the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit? . . . Such performances rather compromise than strengthen the faith. . . . Far better is it to employ our pious studies in endeavouring to resemble God, than in indiscreet discussion with a view to ascertain wherein the Son is distinguished from the Father, and wherein the Holy Spirit differs from the other two."

On the other hand, in his Explication of the Apostles' Creed, and in his Apology, addressed to Alfonso Manrico, Archbishop of Seville, against the heretical articles extracted from his works by certain Spanish monks,[6] Erasmus expresses his adhesion to the Trinitarian dogma in these terms:

"All my studies, in innumerable places, clearly proclaim agreement with the definition of the Trinity handed down by the Catholic Church, namely, the equality of the Divine nature in three persons; or better still, the same undivided essence in three persons, distinct in that which is peculiar to each *(proprietates)*, but not in nature."

This contradiction is not merely apparent, but real. It results from the false attitude which Erasmus had assumed towards the Roman Church, opposing the ignorant and fanatical monks in behoof of the rights of philology and criticism, but in the last resort subordinating—we were going to say sacrificing—the results of his inquiry to the authority of the Church. Erasmus resembles an astronomer who should come and tell you, "All my observations lead me to think that there is but one sphere in the sun; but the Church teaches that there are three, so I bow to its decision." He makes this avowal in his letter to Wilibald Pirckheimer, when he says, "The Church has so much authority in my eyes,

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[6] *Apologia adversus articulos aliquos per monachos quosdam in Hispania exhibitos, Reverendiss. Alfonso Manrico, archiepiscopo Hispalensi:* Basle, 14 March, 1528. Erasmi *Opera*, ix. 1023. Cf. *Explication of the Apostles' Creed*, vol. v. 1139.

that I would subscribe to Arianism and to Pelagianism, if these doctrines were approved by the Church."[7]

If Erasmus was not Unitarian, in the proper sense of the term, he at any rate, by his strictly philological exegesis, supplied weapons to the adversaries of the Trinity, particularly to the Anabaptists of the Low Countries. What is more, this most moderate of the initiators of the Reformation, with his strong good sense, and a spirit of tolerance almost unknown in that age, pleaded the cause of these radicals against the magistrates of Zürich, who mercilessly carried out Zwingli's cruel jest upon the Anabaptists: "Qui iterum mergunt, mergantur ipsi" (Dip the twice dippers, and drown them).

"What," cries he, speaking of the people of Zürich, "they maintain that their own friends ought not to be punished with death as heretics, and yet they put to death the Anabaptists, though these are people against whom hardly a reproach can be cast, yea, though many of them have given up a very bad, and taken to a very virtuous life. Mistakes they may commit, but never have they laid siege to towns and churches."[8]

It here devolves upon us to determine by investigation

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[7] *Erasmus Roterodamus Bilibaldo Pirckheimero* (Basle, 19 Oct. 1527): "Ecclesiam autem voco totius populi christiani consensum. . . . Quantum apud alios valeat auctoritas Ecclesiæ, nescio; certe apud me tantum valet, ut cum Arianis et Pelagianis sentiri possim, si probasset Ecclesia quod illi docuerunt. Nec mihi non sufficiunt verba Christi, sed mirum videri non debet, si sequor interpretem Ecclesiam, cujus auctoritate persuasus credo Scripturis Canonicis." (Erasmi *Opp.* iii. part i. 1028, letter 905.) ["By the Church I mean the consentient voice of the entire Christian community. . . . What value may be attached by others to the authority of the Church, I cannot say. Certainly with me it is so strong that I can think with the Arians and Pelagians if the Church had approved what they have taught. It is not that the words of Christ are insufficient for me; but it ought not to seem strange if I follow the Church in her interpretation of them, since it is on the persuasion of her authority that I believe the Canonical Scriptures."]

[8] Brandt, *ut sup.*, vol. i. 33 ff.

what are the points in common between Anabaptism and Unitarian Christianity, and wherein they differ. In conducting this investigation, we shall leave aside the German Anabaptists, such as Johann Denk (d. 1527) and Ludwig Hätzer (d. 1529), Martin Cellarius, or Borhaus (d. 1564), and Melchior Hofmann (d. 1550),[9] as not directly belonging to our subject. We shall deal specifically with the Netherland Anabaptists, inasmuch as in them the Baptist ideas of the continent found the vehicle of their transmission into England. Such were Jan van Geelen, David Joris, Adam Pastoris and others.

Anabaptism made its appearance in the Low Countries almost as soon as it did in Germany. One may say of this region what Professor Ch. Schmidt has said of the Rhine Provinces in the middle ages, that it was the classic ground of heresy. From Leiden and Haarlem came the leaders of the Münster Anabaptist movement, Jan Bocholdt (or rather Beukelszoon) and Jan Matthias, or Matthisson, of Haarlem; and we must do these men the justice to observe that, if they had recourse to revolutionary proceedings by way of reforming the Church and society, they bore with courage the terrible measures of repression of which they were the victims. The two first agents of the sect were Jan Waaden and Jan Trijpmaaker (i. e. plush-maker). The latter, a friend and representative of Melchior Hofmann, had rebaptised many citizens of Amsterdam. Both were arrested, put to torture, and burnt alive at The Hague (1527 and 1533). The year following, Jan Van Geelen, one of the followers of the Prophet of Münster, provoked a species of riot at Amsterdam (March, 1534). One fine morning, the

[9] [This exclusion of Hofmann is qualified in the next paragraph. His personal relations with Holland were very close; and the influence of his opinions in England was direct. See Robert Barclay, *Inner Life of Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, 3rd ed. p. 14: London, 1879.]

citizens of the great city were startled out of their sleep by a hundred or so of Anabaptists, who, divested of every garment and brandishing naked swords, ran through the streets crying out, "We are the naked truth! Woe to the wicked! Repent, and the blessing of the Lord shall rest upon the city!" They were arrested and sent to the stake. Two years later, Anabaptism had made such progress, that van Geelen succeeded in surprising and taking the Town-hall of Amsterdam, and fortified himself in it with two or three hundred of his partisans. Artillery had to be employed to force them to yield. Van Geelen himself was killed during the assault (10 May, 1535). The survivors were quartered, and their hearts, still palpitating, torn out.

Among the Anabaptists of the first raw stage, socialistic and revolutionary instincts took precedence of religious wants and theological systems. But we now come into contact with an original thinker, the author of nearly three hundred treatises, some of them of great length, and by his correspondence brought into relations with nearly every country in Europe. David Joris,[10] born at Delft (1501) of poor parents, learned the profession of glass-painter; but, endowed with an ambitious and turbulent character, and a teeming imagination, he began publicly to declaim against the idolatrous pageantries of the Catholic worship, and was a first time expelled from his native town, after having had his tongue pierced. Having been re-baptised by Obbe Philips, he went back to Delft; and persuading himself, as the result of certain visions, that he was the first-born of the Spirit, the new Adam, he began an active propagandism. He soon acquired such influence that, at the Conference

[10] [His baptismal name was Jan; his father's name was Georgius Joris, and hence he had the patronymic of Joris, or Joriszoon. He is said to have got the name of David from his playing that part as assistant to his father, a travelling mountebank.]

held (August, 1536) near Buckholdt, in the diocese of Münster, he succeeded in reconciling the four branches of the Anabaptist sect: the Hofmannites, the Münsterians, the Battenburgians, and the Mennonites.[11] However, the magistrates of Delft having been informed that Joris and his assistant, Mainard van Emden, held assemblies day and night, ordered (2 January, 1538) all Anabaptists to leave the town in eight days, and set a price on the heads of the two preachers. The Anabaptists having allowed the time to expire, in expectation of miraculous aid, thirty-five were seized and executed. Among these was Mary, the mother of David Joris. The persecution spread to the towns of Haarlem, Amsterdam, Leiden and Rotterdam. Following these bloody deeds of repression, in 1535 and 1538, came the first emigrations of Anabaptists to England; where, on the contrary, the laws against heretics had lately been somewhat relaxed.

After wandering about for many years, and having vainly appealed to the Landgrave Philip of Hesse (about 1543), Joris retired to the neighbourhood of Emden, in East Friesland, where he gathered a little community around him. This town, which is now only known as a commercial port, was then the focus of a great religious agitation. The different parties, Lutheran, Calvinist and Catholic, there fought for souls, and gave themselves up to polemics. The Anabaptists, under the guidance of Obbe and Dirk Philips, sons of a Catholic priest of Leeuwaarden, had formed numerous societies. When John à Lasco (Jan Laski) was charged

[11] ["A certain Englishman of the name of 'Henry' was very active in promoting this meeting, and himself paid the travelling expenses of the deputies. England was represented by John Mathias, of Middleburg (who was afterwards burnt at London for his adhesion to the tenets of Melchior Hofman). It is interesting to notice that the representatives of England were very indignant at the loose views of the Münster party." Barclay, *Inner Life*, p. 77, his authority being Nippold's Life of Joris.]

by the reigning Countess Anna of Oldenburg to introduce the Reformation into her states, and to give a regular organisation to the Church (1540—1548), the noble Pole had particularly to contend against the Anabaptist societies of Menno Simons and David Joris. For example, he maintained, about 1543-44, a very curious controversy in writing with Joris,[12] but did not succeed in disabusing him of his belief in a "supernatural vocation."

The ideas of Joris, as expounded in his *T' Wonderboeck* (Book of Wonders), and in his *Explication of the Creation*, are reducible to this fundamental principle, "that the true Word of God does not consist in the outward letter of the Bible, but in the inner voice which is audible to a humble and believing heart." As for the Trinity, he thought it a useless problem, and one which concerns only those who are well prepared for meditation on celestial things. He explains himself, however, on this point in his *Wonderbook*. Joris declares that there is but "one God, sole and indivisible, and that it is contrary to the operation of God throughout creation to admit a God in three persons, or that the three make but one, as taught in the Athanasian Creed." Nevertheless, resuming the old theory of Joachim of Flora (d. 1202), he admits that God has revealed himself in three human persons, Moses, Christ and David (doubtless David Joris), who preside over three great periods of history. Joris was excommunicated by the disciples of Melchior Hofmann at Strassburg, and by those of Menno Simons in Friesland, on account of his Antitrinitarian opinions. He took refuge in Basle, where, under the name of Johann von Brügge, or von Binningen, he lived in comfort and with security, in the society of two wives. He died on the 2nd August, 1556.

[12] See the learned monograph of Prof. Nippold, of Berne, on David Joris, in the *Zeitschrift für Historische Theologie*, 1863, 1864, 1868; 3rd article, p. 575.

Around this same church of Emden flits the figure of another Anabaptist teacher, Adam Pastor, who had also been excommunicated by the Mennonites for his Antitrinitarian opinions. In the view of Pastor, as in that of Joris, the Deity is one and indivisible; Christ is, it is true, preexistent as regards the world, but not co-eternal with God; he holds with the Father a community of will, but not of essence; and the Holy Spirit is but an impersonal power, a gift of God. Persecuted by Catholic magistrates, repulsed by the Anabaptists, Pastoris led a wayfaring life, and concealed his identity under various pseudonyms, among others that of Rudolph Martini.[13] According to a very probable conjecture, he it was who first carried Unitarian ideas into Poland, under the name of *Spiritus Belga;* but he returned to finish his days at Emden about 1552.[14]

Among the friends of David Joris was a certain Hendrik Niclaes (d. about 1570), originally of Münster, in Westphalia (b. 1502), who separated himself from the rest of the Anabaptists in order to found a secret society of mystics at Emden, called the Family of Love (*Hüsgesin der Lieften*). He taught that the Bible was only an imprint on paper of the Word of God, but that the true Word is spirit and life; that this Spirit manifests itself by revelations in every regenerate man; and, finally, that the criterion of the presence of the Spirit in us is peace and love. Like his master, Joris, he denied the ontological Trinity. This sect was distinguished from the rest by being secret, and by possessing a hierarchy similar to that of the Church of Rome. As early as 1555, Hendrik Niclaes sent one of his disciples, Christopher Vitells (or Virst), from Delft to Colchester to

[13] [This was probably his real name.]

[14] See Trechsel, *ut sup.*, i. 36. Cf. Wallace, *Antitr. Biog.* ii. 163 ff. [*Spiritus*, in Ochino's *Thirty Dialogues* (1563), sustains the part of the Antitrinitarian.]

make proselytes. Vitells denied the divinity of Christ, and treated Trinitarians as tritheists. He having recanted, about 1569, Niclaes visited England in person; and it seems that he left numerous proselytes there, for ten years afterwards the Familists and their writings swarmed in England, and became the subject of severe edicts on the part of Queen Elizabeth.[15]

We have seen that the bloody persecution, which followed the exploits of Jan van Geelen at Amsterdam and the preaching of Joris at Delft, had led to the first immigrations of Anabaptists into England, 1535—1538. The application of the Interim of Augsburg to all the Rhenish Provinces, and in particular to the County of East Friesland, compelled many thousand Protestants of Germany, Alsace and the Low Countries, to take refuge in England.[16] Then it was that John à Lasco left Emden (1549). Among the refugees were a great number of Anabaptists, but these latter did not long profit by the generous hospitality of Edward VI.

As early as 1551, we encounter, among the victims of the intolerance of the English hierarchy, a surgeon named Georg van Parris, who was originally from Mainz, and had become a member of the Strangers' Church in London, where he won esteem by his piety, his temperance, and his charity. This medical practitioner, perhaps a disciple of David Joris, forcibly denounced infant baptism, and also the dogma of the Trinity. He acknowledged the Father as the only true God, and Jesus Christ as his supernatural and perfect Son. Not choosing to recant, he was condemned to the torments of fire, and suffered martyrdom at Smithfield (25 April, 1551) with a constancy that drew tears from his executioners. Unquestionably he was not the only one

[15] See the article of M. Nippold, in the *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, 1862, p. 543. Cf. Barclay, *Inner Life*, pp. 25, 35.

[16] See *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letters 161 and 162 (Ochino to Musculus).

among these Anabaptist refugees[17] who professed Antitrinitarian opinions. For it is precisely in this Strangers' Church that, a few years later, as we shall see, the first controversies on this question broke out.[18]

It results from the inquiry we have undertaken, that in this fermentation period of the Reformation the Anabaptists had many features of concurrence with Unitarians. These two parties, placing the Word of God above human tradition, represented by the Papacy, contemplated a radical reform of the Church, and would have suppressed every rite or dogma which was not expressly set forth in the Bible: for example, pædobaptism, the hierarchy, judicial oaths, military service, &c. They entertained a kindred antipathy for metaphysical discussions, a kindred predilection for moral and practical questions. In their eyes, what makes the Christian is his life and not his dogma; and hence the real Christian faith dates only from conversion.[19] In fine, most of the Anabaptists denied, in common with Unitarians, the orthodox dogma of the Incarnation,[20] although several of

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[17] See *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letter 33 (Hooper to Bullinger).

[18] We must also reckon in the number of these Antitrinitarians from Holland a certain Justus Velsius, from The Hague. He published at London, about 1563, a book entitled *Christiani Hominis Norma*, in which he held Jesus Christ to be "God in man," or rather Man-God, and that every Christian may, like his exemplar, become by faith "man-God." See Strype, *Life of Grindal*, pp. 135, 138.

[19] Such seems to us the tendency of an anonymous book entitled *Summa der godliker Scrifturen*, published 1523 in Holland, soon translated into French, English and Italian, and lately reprinted in German under the auspices of Dr. Benrath, Leipzig, 1880. In this little book, derived at once from the *Theologia Germanica* and the *Summary* of Farel, there is no mention of the Trinity.

[20] *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letter 33 (Hooper to Bullinger); letter 265 (Micronius to Bullinger). [The doctrines gibbeted in these two letters are diametrically opposed. Hooper says the Anabaptists "deny altogether that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary according to the flesh," i.e.

them, Melchior Hofmann and Menno Simons, for example, remained Trinitarians.[21]

But what distinguished the Anabaptists is, that for the interpretation of Scripture they resorted to the testimony of the Holy Spirit; and that, by degrees reducing the written Word to a lower level than the inner Voice, they confounded the latter with sensual and selfish instincts, and fell into antinomian and millenarian mysticism. The Unitarians, on the contrary, by proclaiming Reason as the sovran interpreter of the Bible, ran the risk of grounding on the reef of Rationalism; yet, in virtue of their very spirituality, they did not insist upon a radical change in sacramental forms and church government, but devoted themselves, above everything, to the reformation of dogma and character.

The Anabaptists reached their logical issue in mystical fanaticism; the Unitarians, in rationalism and toleration.

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they held the Valentinian view, that the heavenly manhood of Jesus came into the world *through* the Virgin, taking nothing of her substance. Microen says that those whom he calls Arians "deny the conception of Christ by the Virgin," i.e. they regard Christ as a purely human birth.]

[21] [But not orthodox Trinitarians, since both were Valentinians. Simons expressly objected to the terms "Trinity" and "person."]

CHAPTER III.

Is Unitarian Christianity of Alsatian or of Swiss Origin?—Capito—Hooper and Puritanism—Cranmer and the Strangers' Church.

We have already noticed the influence exerted by certain writings of Erasmus upon the development of Antitrinitarian ideas among the Anabaptists; no less marked was their effect upon the revival of theological studies in England. Not only were his Biblical works, his Annotations, and his Paraphrases of the New Testament, in the hands of the most obscure of the country incumbents, but his presence at Basel attracted thither all those of the English clergy whose hearts were set on shaking off the intellectual lethargy into which they were thrown by formalism. Ere long, when Erasmus shrank from a schism with Rome, another group of theologians, following the Zwinglian impulse, and including the names of Œcolampadius (Hausschein), Simon Grynæus (Gryner) and Oswald Myconius (Geisshäuser), formed itself at Basel side by side with the party of Erasmus, yet not altogether holding aloof from him. On the other hand, Strassburg, with its learned philologists, Sturm and Fagius, and its moderate theologians, Bucer and Capito (Köpstein), kept up with Basel and Zürich an interchange of ideas. But for a long period, subsequent even to the death of Zwingli, and lasting till the advent of Calvin, Zürich was the head-quarters of the directing group. It was there that Henry Bullinger, Bibliander (Buchmann), Leo Judae (Jud), Pellican (Kurschner) and others taught.

England soon entered into relations with these Reformers

in German Switzerland. She had then at her head a king who plumed himself on being a theologian, and did not fear to measure swords with Luther. It was in connection with the affair of the divorce of Henry VIII. from Catherine of Arragon (1531—1534), that the first letters were exchanged between the theologians of the two countries.

The despotic king, impatient of the delays of Pope Clement VII. and of Cardinal Wolsey's tergiversations, had eagerly accepted the idea suggested by Dr. Cranmer, then but a Fellow at Cambridge, that the principal Universities of Europe should be consulted on the question of the validity of his marriage with his brother's widow, in order to impose the decision of the majority upon the Holy See. Simon Grynæus, Professor of Philosophy and Theology, who had visited England in 1531, had been specially charged by the king to collect the opinions of his colleagues at Basel, Zürich and Strassburg; and in his letter to the king of 10th September, 1531, he was already able to forward him those of Œcolampadius and Zwingli, which were favourable to the divorce, while Melanchthon's was opposed to it.[1] Such a result was well calculated to augment the mutual good feeling. Hence, when Cranmer had obtained the metropolitan see of Canterbury (1534), he gave the preference to the Swiss Universities when sending young Englishmen abroad to study for the Church. Between 1536 and 1539, we find at Zürich and Geneva four English theological students—John Butler, of a rich and noble family; Nicolas Partridge, from Kent; Nicolas Eliot, also a law student; and Bartholomew Traheron (a writer against the Arians, 1557), who had suffered persecution at Oxford in the cause of the gospel.

Already, in fact, the reputation for learning and piety of the young author of the *Institution of the Christian Religion* was attracting to Geneva all minds athirst for truth. The

[1] *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letters 255 to 259.

letter to Calvin from two of these students, which constitutes, as it were, the first salutation of England to the great French Reformer, testifies to the enthusiasm with which Calvin's "most amiable and most learned" teaching, and Farel's "truly heroic spirit" had inspired them.[2]

For the moment, however, it was still Alsace and German Switzerland that obtained the highest repute among the English. In return for the students which were sent to them, the professors of Strassburg and Zürich forwarded their books to England. Wolfgang F. Capito dedicated to Henry VIII. his treatise entitled *Responsum de Missa, Matrimonio et Jure Magistratus in Religione*, and received a hundred crowns as a present from the king.[3] Soon afterwards, his colleague, Martin Bucer, dedicated to Cranmer his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, complimenting him on lending an increasingly active support to the efforts of Latimer and Foxe, and penning these significant counsels: "There are too many things still wanting to us, unless it be enough to have shaken off the yoke of the Pope, and to be unwilling to take upon us the yoke of Christ. . . . . But if God be for us, who can be against us? And Christianity is a warfare."[4] Finally, Zwingli's true successor at Zürich and in all the eastern parts of Switzerland, Henry Bullinger, dedicated to Henry VIII. his two books published under the title, *De Scripturæ Sanctæ Authoritate, Certitudine, Firmitate et absoluta Perfectione, deque Episcoporum . . . Institutione et Functione, &c.* (1538). These were wonderfully well received, not only by the king, but also by Thomas, Baron Cromwell (afterwards Earl of Essex), Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Vicar-General of the Church of England.[5] Bullinger subse-

[2] *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letter 285.

[3] *Ibid.*, 3 ser., Letter 8 (Cranmer to Capito).

[4] *Ibid.*, 3 ser., Letter 244 (Bucer to Cranmer).

[5] *Ibid.*, 3 ser., Letters 280 and 284 (Partridge and Eliot to Bullinger); Letter 260 (Micronius to Bullinger).

quently dedicated Book iii. and a part of Book iv. of his *Decades* to Edward VI.

Furnished with this stamp of royal favour, Bullinger's books speedily circulated among all ranks of the clergy, and went off so well in an English dress that many booksellers were enriched by their sale. Their readers especially appreciated the *Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul* and the *Decades*, which, almost as much as the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus, helped to restore evangelical preaching in England. Bullinger's *Epistle on the Mass* and his *Treatise on Obedience to Magistrates* were also translated.[6]

Such, from 1531 to 1540, were the sympathetic relations between Reformed Switzerland and England, still three parts Catholic. Do we find in this first period any traces of Antitrinitarianism? At first sight it would seem scarcely probable. We have cited above[7] the categorical declaration of Zwingli in favour of the Athanasian dogma in his *De Vera et Falsa Religione.* Faithful to Zwingli's teaching, the first Helvetic Confession, drawn up by Henry Bullinger in concert with Grynæus and Myconius, contains the following expressions:

Art. VI. Of God.—"These are the ideas we have of God: That there is one only true, living, and omnipotent God, unique in essence, and who, in this unity, has three persons; who has created all things from nothing by His Word, that is to say, by His Son." Article XI. acknowledges no less explicitly that Jesus Christ is "very God and very Man."[8]

[6] *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letter 189 (Johannes ab Ulmis to Bullinger (*postscript*).

[7] Zwingli and Œcolampadius, to meet the accusations of Luther and Melanchthon, who reproached them with encouraging the denial of the Trinity, signed a Trinitarian Confession of Faith at Marburg. See Erichson: art. on the Colloquy of Marburg in Lichtenberger's *Encyclopédie*, and Zwinglii *Opera*, ed. Schuler and Schulthess, viii. 118 (Zwingli to the Magistrates of Zürich).

[8] Ruchat, *Histoire de la Réformation en Suisse*, vol. v. (1728), 511.

Further, the severity with which the magistrates of Zürich (1525) and of Strassburg (1527) repressed the Anabaptist movements is well known; and the letter from the English students to Calvin indicates that, in 1537, the authorities of Geneva were not less busy with precautionary measures against these radicals of the Reformation.

Yet one result of these theological conflicts, as of the struggle between two civilisations, is that the ideas of the vanquished make in their turn an impression upon the victors. It is thus that Calvin himself felt the influence of Servetus and of Lelio Sozini.[9] An analogous phenomenon is presented, at the same period, by the mental history of W. F. Capito, one of the three Reformers of Strassburg. Capito, originally from Hagenau, and some time Provost of St. Thomas at Strassburg, had (subsequently to 1523) entered into close relations with several Antitrinitarian Anabaptists; among others, with Ludwig Hätzer (from Thurgau) and with Martin Cellarius (d. 1564).[10]

Hätzer (d. 1529), who was for a considerable time the guest of Capito, associated himself with John Denk in the propaganda of a species of pantheism; and openly proclaimed the personal unity of God and the humanity of Christ. Martin Cellarius, perhaps chronologically the first of the Antitrinitarians (if we except Erasmus), published at Strassburg his book, *De Operibus Dei* (1527), in which he accords to Jesus the title of God, in the sense that the Holy Spirit dwelt in him without measure; but in which he also says that we are all likewise gods, and sons of the Most High, by participation in the same Spirit, and according to the measure of the gift of Jesus Christ. Capito did not scruple

[9] [The power of Servetus as a Christian thinker is recognised in the very energy with which Calvin set himself to crush his influence; the attraction of L. Sozini as a Christian man Calvin owned in the easy terms on which he recognised his soundness in the faith.]

[10] Trechsel, *ut sup.*, vol. i. 17, 24.

to write a Preface for this book,[11] in which he eulogises the spiritual gifts of the author; mentions many topics on which he had conversed with him, among others the knowledge of one only God, of Christ, and of the Holy Spirit; and recognises the incomplete and transitory character of the Reformation in which they are both of them engaged. Less than this would have sufficed to bring Capito under suspicion of heresy; and this is the explanation of the following passage in a letter from Dionysius Melander to Capito.

"For there are false brethren who say, both in writing and by word of mouth, that you to begin with, and further that the Strassburg Protestants in general, entertain wrong opinions concerning the Trinity, and concerning Christ's Divinity. . . . But I made excuse in the mean time for you and your townsmen, whom I hold second to none in my affection. I said you hold sound views; that perhaps you had said this word 'Trinity' is not in the Scriptures; but that it does not follow that you hold wrong opinions concerning God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit."[12]

Suspicions such as these, based on gossip, do not appear to us to warrant the classing of Capito among the Antitrinitarian teachers who have contributed to the formation of English Unitarianism.

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[11] Wallace, *ut sup.*, vol. i. art. *Cellarius*. [This Preface (*Epistola præliminaria, scripta Argentinæ, anno* 1527) was reprinted, along with Cellarius' chapter *De Restauratione Ecclesiæ*, at the end of the treatise *De Mediatoris Jesu Christi*, &c. (by Francis Dávid, the Unitarian Bishop), published in 1568 at Alba Julia (Gyula Fehérvár, now Károly Fehérvár or Karlsburg, in Transylvania).]

[12] Wallace, *ut sup.*, vol. iii. app. ii. "Sunt enim falsi fratres, qui te primum, deinde Argentoratenses male sentire de Trinitate, deque Christi divinitate et scribunt et dicunt. . . . . Excusavi tamen interim te atque tuos, quos in primis charos habeo. . . . . Dixi bene sentire vos, fortasse voculam hanc 'Trinitas' non esse in Scripturis dixisse vos; non tamen propterea male sentire de Deo, Christo et Sp. S."—This letter was extracted by Trechsel (i. 25, 26) from a manuscript in the Frey-Grynäische Bibliothek at Basel, i. 19, No. 47.

But let us pursue our investigation into the relations of England with Switzerland.

In 1539, there was a marked coolness between the two countries, in consequence of the Act of the Six Articles, imposed on the English clergy by the caprice of Henry VIII. The effect of these Articles was to re-establish the Mass, the celibacy of the priesthood and auricular confession, and to tear up the compact arrived at in 1535 between the schismatic king and the Protestant theologians.[13] The Archbishop of Canterbury, accustomed to bow to the caprices of a sovereign who was sure to reward submission by promotion, remained at Lambeth by desire of Henry VIII., simply sending his wife and children to Germany. But all those who constituted within the Church of England an element firmly and decisively pledged to a genuine evangelical Reformation, protested, each in his own way.

Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, who was chaplain to the king and had plenty of courage, resigned his see and retired to the country; but he was soon arrested and shut up in the Tower, where he remained until the death of Henry. Miles Coverdale, who shares the palm with William Tyndal as a translator of the Bible, and who afterwards translated into German and Latin the Communion Order of Edward VI. (1548);[14] John Rogers, chaplain to the English Church at Antwerp, and Tyndal's workfellow in the translation of the Bible; and, above all, John Hooper (properly Hoper), chaplain to Sir Thomas Arundel,—left England to take refuge on the continent.

After having passed several years at Strassburg, where he contracted a friendship with Girolamo Zanchi, Hooper took up his residence at Zürich. Here he gave himself with

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[13] *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letter 245 (Bucer to Cranmer).

[14] *Ibid.*, 3 ser., Letters 19 and 20 (Coverdale to Calvin; Coverdale to Fagius).

ardour to the study of the sacred tongues and to meditation upon the New Testament, and here, acting on the advice of Bullinger, who became his friend, he married. Here it was that Hooper became thoroughly imbued with those convictions of the exclusive authority of the Bible and the simplicity of divine worship, which soon made him the father of Puritanism. In fact, when, two years and a half after the accession of the pious Edward VI. (1550), he returned to his native land and was nominated Bishop of Gloucester, he refused to submit to two formalities which he considered as remnants of Romish superstition. The first was the wearing of the sacerdotal vestments, which he regarded as a symbolism keeping up a connection with Antichrist; the second was the Oath of Supremacy, tendered in the form, "So help me God, all Saints, and the holy Evangelists."[15] This controversy, which stirred all England for several months, and ended in a compromise very honourable for Hooper, was not so childish as it appears to us at the distance of three centuries. It was the very principle of all reformation that was at stake; the principle laid down by the Lord Jesus when he said, "No man seweth a piece of undressed cloth on an old garment: else that which should fill it up taketh from it," nor "putteth new wine into old wine-skins;" and confirmed by the Apostle Paul, "Let each man be fully assured in his own mind." Yes, in this resistance of Hooper to High-church formalism, the whole Puritan movement was latent in germ.

The too brief reign of Edward VI. saw the fullest development of the Reformation in England. It was aided by the return of the English refugees, Hooper, Coverdale and Rogers, who had in exile become disciples of Calvin, and by the influence of a picked band of foreign theologians,

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[15] *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letters 260 to 264 (Micronius to Bullinger). [This was the 1549 Oath; in 1562 it was altered to "So help me God, through Jesus Christ."]

Bucer and John à Lasco, Pietro Martire Vermigli and Bernardino Ochino, who had come to seek in Great Britain a shelter from the vexations of the Interim (after 1547). To this period belong two memorable acts of Archbishop Cranmer, the scheme for convoking "a Synod of the most learned and excellent persons," with a view to establish a consensus among all Protestant churches as regards fundamentals, "and especially for an agreement upon the sacramentarian controversy,"[16] and the constitution of the Strangers' Church in London.[17]

In the matter of dogmatic and ritual reforms, Cranmer's first principle was to stay within the strict limits of apostolic tradition. Hence his severity against the Anabaptists, who aimed at a radical reform, and hence the eighteenth of the Articles of 1551, which declares those to be heretics "that presume to saie, that euery man shalbe saued by the Lawe, or Secte which he professeth, so that he bee diligente to frame his life according to that Lawe, and the lighte of Nature."[18]

On the other hand, the Primate of all England held a deeply-rooted feeling for the corporate union of all the Christian churches, and for the triumph of the evangelical Reformation in Europe. Hence his second principle, namely, to prove, when dealing with continental Protestants, very broad in regard to forms of worship and systems of church government.

This double principle of Cranmer, dogmatic strictness and ecclesiastical breadth, presided over the constitution

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[16] *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letters 9 to 15 (Cranmer to Melanchthon. Calvin, and J. à Lasco). Cf. Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. part 1, ye 1548 (Letter from Melanchthon to Edward VI.).

[17] Calvini *Opera*, *ut sup.*, vol. xiii. 1399, 1409, 1432. Cf. *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letters 262 to 265.

[18] [Hardwick, *Hist. of Articles*, app. iii.]

of the Strangers' Church in London, in which he, with Sir John Cheke and William Cecil, the Secretary of State, had the largest share. We may judge of this from a brief analysis of the *Privilége octroyé par le Roy* [*Edouard Sixième*] *à l'Eglise des Estrangers, instituée à Londres l'an* 1550.[19]

After divers considerations drawn from the duty of princes towards God's holy gospel and the apostolic religion, and from the pity inspired by the "Germans and other strangers" banished on account of religion, and who had no place in which they could carry on their religious affairs in a language they understood and according to the custom of their country, the king orders that henceforth there shall be a temple in London, called the Temple of the Lord Jesus, where the holy gospel may be purely interpreted, and the Sacraments administered according to the Word of God and the apostolic ordinance. The further provisions of the patent may be arranged under four heads.

1. This temple (or *maison dédiée*) shall have a superintendent and four ministers of the Word, who shall form a separate corporation in the city of London, they and their successors.

2. The king grants them the church formerly belonging to the Augustins, and all the ground and site of the said church, the choir excepted, to enjoy in frank-almoin.

3. The king accords them full power to increase the number of ministers, according as necessity shall arise.

4. Finally and above all, the king commands the mayor, aldermen and sheriffs of his city of London, the Bishop of

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[19] Collier, *ut sup.*, vol. ix. app. No. 65. Cf. Joannes Utenhovius Gandavus, *Simplex et fidelis Narratio de instituta ac demum dissipata Belgarum aliorumque Peregrinorum in Anglia Ecclesia*, &c.: Basel, 1560. See Appendix III. [In Edward VI.'s Journal, under date 29 June, 1550, Austin Friars is said to be given "to the Dutch nation in London, to have their service in, for avoiding all sects of Ana-Baptists and such like."]

London, and their successors, "with all others, Archbishops, bishops, justices, officers, &c., that they permit the aforesaid superintendent and ministers and their successors, freely and quietly to indulge, enjoy, use and exercise their own rites and ceremonies and proper and particular ecclesiastical discipline, notwithstanding that these may not agree with the rites and ceremonies practised in our kingdom."

The Strangers' Church, endowed with so liberal a charter, was calculated to survive Thomas Cranmer; but other events were in store; the Catholic reaction under Mary Tudor had the effect of violently overturning the noble plan of an Evangelical Alliance formed by him; and, by sending many hundreds of English Protestants to the continent, hurried on the catastrophe of the crisis which troubled the Anglican Church. In fact, the exile of five or six hundred of the most distinguished members of the Anglican Church, such men as Sir John Cheke, Grindal, Humphrey, Foxe, Jewel, Parker, Ponet, Sampson and others,[20] by bringing them in contact with the simple worship and organisation of the Reformed Churches at Frankfurt, Strassburg and Zürich, could not but foster the tendencies to a more thorough purification of the Anglican worship.

In its turn, this onward movement would naturally call forth a resistance, based on that attachment to ecclesiastical rites and customs which exercises so powerful a sway over the English character. In this way, two opposite poles of thought were created in the little world of English refugees on the continent: the conservative or Episcopal, to be found at Strassburg and Zürich; and the radical or Puritan, at Geneva and Frankfurt. Those attached to the former—among others, Cox, Coverdale, Grindal, Parker and Ponet—wished to keep the services and the episcopal system as these had been settled under Edward VI. On the other

[20] Collier, *ut sup.*, vol. vi. 19.

hand, the representatives of the latter school, such as the ardent Knox, John Foxe, Humphrey, &c., desired to adopt a service-book similar to that which Calvin had introduced at Geneva, and claimed for the Anglican Church the autonomy and liturgical simplicity which the patent of Edward VI. had granted from the very first to the Strangers' Church in London.[21] So long as the English Protestants were drawn together by common sufferings for the sake of the gospel, this divergence of opinions only gave rise to liturgical or personal controversies; but in accordance with a melancholy law of the human heart, more quickly corrupted by prosperity than by misfortune, the antagonism became sharper under the reign of Elizabeth. The Puritans created a schism (1566), and declared that they would dispense with the help of the Government, and reform the Church according to this three-fold principle: 1, *Aucloritas Scripturarum;* 2, *Simplicitas ministerii;* 3, *Puritas ecclesiarum primarum et optimarum* (1586).

Having witnessed the rise of the Strangers' Church and of Puritanism from these fruitful relations between England and Switzerland, the question again presents itself, Was there, in either of these, any germ of Unitarianism?

Let us inquire first among the Puritans, and begin with Hooper, initiator and martyr of Puritanism. Hooper has left but few works, and the most important are on moral and liturgical subjects.[22] But we have a large part of his correspondence with Henry Bullinger,[23] a real treasure of healthy piety and frank friendship. From this is to be gathered that Hooper was, in matter of dogma, the disciple of Zwingli and of Bullinger; that is to say, he adopted the Athanasian

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[21] See Herzog's *Real-Encyclopædie*, art. *Puritans*, by Schoell.

[22] [But see Hooper's *Early Writings* (Parker Society) for *A Declaration of Christ and his Office*, which is expressly Nicæan in doctrine.]

[23] *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letters 32 to 48 (Hooper to Bullinger).

Creed pure and simple, not dreaming for a moment of verifying its authenticity, or even its conformity with the Holy Scriptures. Thus, in his letter to Bullinger, already quoted, Hooper complains that the Anabaptists give him "much trouble, with their opinions respecting the incarnation of the Lord; for they deny altogether that Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin Mary according to the flesh." And further on he exclaims: "Alas! not only are those heresies reviving among us which were formerly dead and buried, but new ones are springing up every day. There are such libertines and wretches who are daring enough in their conventicles, not only to deny that Christ is the Messiah and Saviour of the world, but also to call that blessed Seed a mischievous fellow and deceiver of the world."[24]

Might there not be an allusion here, in calumnious form, to the first Antitrinitarians of England?

John Hooper was one of the first victims of the Catholic reaction. On 1st September, 1553, he was arrested and consigned to the Fleet prison in Babington's charge, and after two years' rigorous incarceration was sent to the stake (1555). While in prison he wrote two books: his *Hyperaspismus*, on the true doctrine and use of the Lord's Supper, which has been printed; and *De vera Ratione inveniendæ et fugiendæ Falsæ Doctrinæ, breve Syntagma*, which doubtless referred to the same subject as the above-mentioned letter. Unhappily, only the Epistle Dedicatory to this last work has been preserved.[25]

According to the declarations of their principal teachers, Humphrey and Sampson, who took part in their controversies with the Established Church (1566—1586), the Puritans were in full accord with the Anglicans in matter of dogma.

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[24] *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letter 33.

[25] [See Hooper's *Later Writings* (Parker Society). In the *Hyperaspismus*, Hooper cites and endorses the *Symbolum Quicumque.*]

They accepted the Thirty-nine Articles of 1563; Bullinger's *Decades* were authoritative for the whole clergy, while Calvin's *Institutio* was scarcely read outside the Universities. Still, little by little, under the influence of strife and schism, a dogmatic divergence ensued between the Established Church and the Puritan Nonconformists. While the Puritans pushed the Calvinistic dogma of predestination to its extreme consequences, the Anglican bishops allowed themselves to be won over by degrees to Arminian ideas. Now it is well known that the Dutch Arminians were much inclined towards Unitarian doctrines. It is therefore in the Episcopal Church, and nowise among the Presbyterians, that we discern an open door for Unitarianism.[26]

But the Strangers' Church in London offered a field much more propitious for the introduction of Unitarian tendencies. Christians of every nation and every denomination met there; Germans and Dutch, French and Walloons, Italians and Spaniards; Georg van Parris, Adriaans van Hamstede, Vauville and Utenhoven, Acontius and Corranus; and all were under the superintendence of a Pole, John à Lasco. Outwardly, it is true, the Strangers' Church conformed to the Calvinistic orthodoxy; John à Lasco drew up a *Confession of Faith*, which was signed by all the ministers and elders, and of which he submitted copies for the approbation of Bullinger and Calvin.[27] But this Confession did not prevent grave discussions from arising among the laymen, and even among the pastors, of this Church, as we shall see in Chapter VII. That we may judge of the notable influence exercised by this Strangers' Church upon the development of eccle-

[26] Schoell, art. *Puritans*, *ut sup.* As early as 1590, W. Barrett introduced Arminianism at Cambridge, and did not shrink from opposing the dogmatic systems of Calvin and Beza.

[27] Calvini *Opera*, *ut sup.*, vol. xiv. 1432 (Letter from à Lasco to Bullinger).

siastical and theological ideas in England, we will cite the testimony of Collier, which is all the more valuable as coming from a hostile source.

"This indulgence," says he, speaking of the Patent of Edward VI., "though going upon motives of generosity and compassion, proved unserviceable to the English Reformation: for this German congregation was very remote, both in government and worship, from our ecclesiastical constitution. The allowing, therefore, a religious society so widely different from that of the country, and the exempting these foreigners from the jurisdiction of the bishops, was thought, in effect, an encouragement of schism, and setting up one altar against another. It must be said, this friendship and correspondence with the reformed of other nations disturbed our harmony at home, and proved an occasion of divisions."[28]

To us, on the contrary, it appears that this *Ecclesia Peregrinorum* has been, in the body of the Church of England, as the leaven that leavened the whole lump. Without it, and the Puritan and Unitarian movements to which it gave birth, the Anglican Church would perhaps have long since fallen again under the yoke of the Church of Rome.

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[28] Collier, *ut sup.*, vol. v. 386.

CHAPTER IV.

Is Unitarian Christianity of Italian or Spanish origin?—Antitrinitarian tendencies of the Italian Reformation.—Influence of Juán de Valdés and Michael Servetus.

Up to this point of our researches into the origin of English Unitarianism, we have not quitted the zone of the Germanic races. We have interrogated, one after another, the heresiarchs of all the Teutonic lands, Wiclif and the Lollards, Erasmus and the Anabaptists; and on putting our question respecting the Trinity, we have nearly everywhere been referred in reply to the *Symbolum Quicumque.* Only at two or three points have we come upon traces at all marked of Antitrinitarian criticism; namely, among the Anabaptists of Flanders and of Switzerland, and in the Strangers' Church in London. But among the first-named, taking Adam Pastoris and Hätzer as samples, the Unitarian idea is still enveloped in a certain pantheistic and millenarian mysticism, and complicated with revolutionary aspirations respecting the Church and society. In the *Ecclesia Peregrinorum*, on the contrary, it appears in the form of Scriptural theory, and it is represented by men who respected established order, such as Acontius and Hamstede, Ochino and Corranus.

Most of these men were Italians or Spaniards. Let us then turn towards the south of Europe, and ask Italy to declare her secret.

For a long time England had carried on a literary intercourse with Italy. We know that Chaucer, the creator of

English poetic diction, is under constant obligation to Boccaccio and Petrarca; and, two centuries afterwards, it was still in that land of hereditary loves and hates that Shakspere sought the story of his most pathetic dramas. It was not only for literary models or souvenirs of the past that the English resorted to Italy; they were drawn thither by the renown of her Universities, whose authority was recognised in the sciences of Law and Medicine.

At the commencement of the sixteenth century, the English students were so numerous at Ferrara as to form a distinct "nation" in that University.[1]

A little later, Reginald Pole, the last scion of the unfortunate house of York, fleeing from the wrath of Henry VIII., sought refuge in Italy (July, 1531), and joined the devotional conferences which the dispersed members of the "Oratory of Divine Love" held at Venice, under the patronage of the Cardinals Morone and Contarini. It was with this introduction that he made the acquaintance of several advocates of an evangelical reform—Luigi Priuli, Marcantonio Flaminio, and Aonio Paleario (Antonio della Paglia)—and that he was chosen in 1537 by Pope Paolo III. to take part in the Commission of Reforms.[2] Unhappily, Reginald Pole soon went over to the side of the reaction in favour of Catholic authority, represented by Caraffa, and employed, in opposing the progress of the gospel in Italy, especially among the ladies of the Colonna family, all the ardour which shortly before he had placed at the service of the reforming party.

But, failing the ambitious Pole, the English had, about the same epoch, 1532—1540, a devoted agent in Italy who served as negociator between the two countries. This was Baldassare Altieri. Originally from Aquila, in the kingdom

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[1] M'Crie, *Reformation in Italy*, p. 80, note.

[2] F. Meyer, *Die Evangelische Gemeinde zu Locarno:* Zürich, 1836, vol. i. 20 ff.

of Naples, he was, during eight years, accredited as Secretary to the English Embassy at Venice, and by his intelligence and activity was well fitted to advance the prestige of the King of England with the "Queen of the Adriatic." Altieri, converted to the gospel by the writings of the German Reformers, placed all his energy at the service of the evangelical cause; he did not consider himself simply as agent of England, but as envoy of the King of Heaven, Jesus Christ. The English Embassy at Venice became at that time the focus of an active circulation of the literature of the Reformation, and an asylum for all who were exiled in the cause of religion.[3]

But the very excess of his zeal compromised him in the eyes of his superior, who was avaricious and a bigot; and Altieri, to place himself in safety, was obliged to come with his wife and children to England (1540—1542), where he was warmly received by the members of the Privy Council, including Sir William Paget.[4]

He afterwards returned to Italy, as agent of the Elector of Saxony and of the Landgrave of Hesse. In this capacity he rendered great services to the cause of the persecuted Protestants, but was at length obliged to quit Venice and take refuge in the neighbourhood of Brescia, where he died, in August, 1550. We make this digression concerning Altieri, partly because he was in familiar relations with Celio Secondo Curione and Lelio Sozini, and partly because, by his frequent correspondence with Luther and Bullinger, we may consider him the medium of relations between Italy and the northern Reformers.

If England was thus represented in Italy by men of eminence and advocates of Reformation—although diametrically opposed to each other in regard to methods—there was,

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[3] M'Crie, *Reformation in Italy*, p. 106.

[4] F. Meyer, *ut sup.*, app. pp. 471 ff.

on the other hand, no lack of Italians in England. A number of families had lately established themselves in London for purposes of commerce, which was then brisk between the two countries. In the first rank of these were the Brunetti and the Torriani, held in esteem as much for their probity as for their business ability.[5] After the establishment of the Inquisition in Italy and of the Interim in Germany, a great stream of emigration began, which carried the Italian Protestants, by successive stages, first into Switzerland, then to Alsace and the Low Countries (after 1548), and at length to the shores of Great Britain. The young king, Edward VI., and his Council of Regency, accorded them a favourable reception, and furnished them with sufficient funds to enable them to proceed to the northern counties in search of employment.[6]

Archbishop Cranmer held the learned Italians in particular esteem; he gave a chair of theology in the University of Oxford to Peter Martyr (Pietro Martire Vermigli), and to Emanuele Tremellio the chair of Hebrew at Cambridge, in succession to Fagius; he licensed Bernardino Ochino as preacher to the Italian congregation in London. We may further mention among the Italians of distinction who were included in this first emigration, Giulio Terenziano, the faithful companion of Peter Martyr, Lelio Sozini of Siena, and Pietro Bizarri of Perugia. The publications of the Italian Reformers were in high repute at the court of Edward VI., to whom many of them were dedicated. One of the three copies of the book, *Del Benefizio di Gesù Christo*, which have survived the hecatomb of the Inquisitors, has been discovered at St. John's College, Cambridge, bearing this

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[5] Gregorio Leti, *Il Teatro Britannico overo Historia della Grande Bretagna*, 5 vols. 12mo.: Amsterdam, 1684, vol. i. 316.

[6] *Calendar of State Papers: Reign of Edward VI.* (1549).

truly Pauline motto, "Live to die—Die to live again," in the handwriting and with the signature of the young king.[7]

The Italian emigration, interrupted under Mary Tudor, began once more on the accession of Elizabeth, who was passionately fond of the Italian language and literature, which she studied under one of the persecuted exiles. It is to this second group that Acontius, the Cardoini and the Gentili belong.

So much in proof of the mutual relations between English Protestants and those of Italy about the middle of the sixteenth century (1530—1570). We must now trace in rapid outline the course of the Italian Reformation, that we may take our bearings for the investigation of the sources of those Antitrinitarian opinions which, as we have seen, suddenly sprang up in 1550 within the Italian congregation of London. In Italy the Reformation developed new features; it had no political character, and nowhere did it bear a stamp more distinctively literary, humanistic and rational. The prophetic accents of Savonarola, and the exegetical boldness of Lorenzo Valla, had re-awakened minds stupefied with the incense of Romish pageantry. On every hand a fresh demand arose for a reform of the Church in head and members; and in the Council of 1511-12, convened at Pisa at the instance of Louis XII., and afterwards transferred to the Lateran, Pope Julius II. had to listen to the speeches of Egidio di Viterbo, General of the Eremitani of St. Augustine, and of Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola, energetically denouncing abuses in the Church. Ten years afterwards, the letter addressed by the inhabitants of Bologna, within the Papal territory, to Johann Planitz, envoy in Italy from the Elector of Saxony to Charles V., well expresses the sentiment of those noble-hearted Christians who sighed for a peaceful reformation of the Catholic Church.[8]

[7] *The Benefit of Christ's Death*, edited by Babington: Cambridge 1855.

[8] M'Crie, *ut sup.*, pp. 90 ff.

Again, at both extremities of the Italian Peninsula, in the upper valleys of the Cottian Alps, and in the mountains of Calabria and Apulia, the Waldenses kept alive the sacred fire of the Word of God. In Piedmont, after the defeat of the brutal expedition of Albertus de Cataneis, they enjoyed some degree of toleration at the hands of the Dukes of Savoy, including Filiberto VI. and Emanuele Filiberto, who had married Catherine II. of France, sister to Henry II. and friend of Renée of Ferrara. They had schools and meeting-houses at Cavour, at Carignano, at Chieri; and, during the French occupation, they opened a place of public worship at Turin.[9]

But it was especially in the kingdom of Naples, where, since the end of the fourteenth century, the emigrants from Pragela had founded agricultural colonies and brought under cultivation a kind of desert, that the Waldenses were treated with much respect. They possessed flourishing churches at Borgo d'Oltramontani, at Guardia and at Voltatura, which endured for about forty years (1558—1560) after the introduction of the Reformation into Italy.

Hence, when the writings of Luther and Melanchthon, of Bucer and Zwingli, brought out in large editions by the printers of Basel and Strassburg, reached Italy (under pseudonyms, it is true) through the booksellers of Pavia and Venice, they were read with avidity, and praised even by members of the Sacred College.[10] Add to these causes the interchange of students which, so soon as the Renascence had penetrated to the north of Europe (from 1525), became customary between Oxford and Wittenberg on the one part, and Ferrara and Padua on the other, and the rapid and simultaneous outbreak of the Reformation in Italy will become intelligible.

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[9] Muston, *Histoire des Vaudois et de leurs Colonies*, new Edition, Paris, 1880, vol. i. 267—282.

[10] M'Crie, *ut sup.*, pp. 6, 39.

To shorten matters, we shall specify three principal centres, Naples, Tuscany and the Venetian territory.

Naples and Sicily were at that time under Spanish rule, and governed by two viceroys of Charles V. Every one knows that this emperor was not indulgent to heretics; and during a visit which he paid to Naples he published an Edict (Feb. 4, 1536) forbidding all intercourse with heretics, under pain of death and confiscation of property. But in vain did the puissant emperor set himself to extinguish the light of the gospel. God had determined otherwise, and it was precisely through the efforts of one of his Spanish knights that the gospel was to make its greatest strides in the district of Naples.

Juán de Valdés, a native of Cuenca in Castille (often confounded with his twin-brother Alfonso (d. 1532), who accompanied Charles V. on his German campaigns as Latin Secretary), had fled from Spain, where his dialogue, *Mercury and Charon*, had compromised him with the Holy Office, to Naples,[11] and to Rome, where he stayed two years. He was an accomplished man, of gentle birth and of irreproachable purity of morals, whose countenance, pale and delicate, and eyes beaming with enthusiasm, seemed to reflect the brightness of the invisible world, where in heart he lived. Converted to the evangelical doctrines by reading St. Paul's Epistles and the writings of Luther, he thought thenceforward but of one thing, to win for Christ as many souls as possible.[12]

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[11] [Valdés was in Naples in 1530-31, and returning in 1533, remained there till his death in May, 1541. There is no proof that he was ever in the Emperor's service, though he was in that of Pope Clemente VII. His brother's will made him independent. See Boehmer's *Lives of the Twin-brothers Juán and Alfonso de Valdés*, with Betts' *Introduction*, 1882.]

[12] See the remarkable article of E. Boehmer on Valdés in *Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries:* Lond. 1874. [The life and works of Valdés are now rendered available to English readers by the valuable labours of B. B. Wiffen, and the translations of Betts and others.]

He never came forward as a public speaker or preacher; he relied entirely on speech with two or three in form of dialogue; and many of his works which have been preserved, e.g. the *Alfabeto Cristiano* and the *Ziento i Diez Conziderazziones*, bear the character of conversations. Indeed, his house, picturesquely situated on the Chiaja, near Virgil's tomb, soon became the resort of all the best society the kingdom of Naples could show, in the way of men and women distinguished in letters and animated with religious sentiments. Hither came Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescara, and her sister-in-law, Giulia Gonzaga, Duchess of Trajetto, the most beautiful woman of her time; Costanza d'Avalos, Duchess of Amalfi, and Isabella Manriquez, sister of a Cardinal. And here they met Pietro Carnesecchi, formerly protonotary to Clement VII. and secretary to the Medici; Marcantonio Flaminio, one of the translators of the Psalms into Latin verse; Benedetto of Mantua; Lattanzio Ragnone, of Siena; and the young Neapolitan noblemen, Francesco Caserta and Galeazzo Caracciolo.

The charm of Valdés' evangelical character was also felt by two ecclesiastics, Giovanni Mollio, a Minorite from Montalcino, who had been removed from Bologna under suspicion of heresy, and was now Reader at San Lorenzo in Naples; and Pietro Martire Vermigli, ex-Abbot of Spoleto, and now Prior of the Augustinian convent of San Pietro ad Aram. Finally, to complete the catalogue, let us add the name of the celebrated Vicar-general of the Capuchins, Bernardino Ochino of Siena, who preached his first Lenten course at Naples in 1536, and of whom it was said by Charles V., that he "could draw tears from the very stones!"[13] So completely did Ochino fall under the spell of Valdés, that

[13] [This is the expression employed by an eye-witness, Gregorio Rosso, and has been attributed to Charles V. by a misapprehension. Benrath's *Ochino*, 1875, p. 25.]

he would go to him for texts and subjects for his sermons, and imbibed the inspiration of many of his friend's theological ideas.[14]

Thus, at the time of his death (May, 1541), the number of Valdés' disciples was considerable at Naples, and from thence his influence was extended far and wide in the Italian Peninsula. Benedetto of Locarno, who preached justification by faith at Palermo and at Milan, and Paolo Ricci, called Lisia Fileno, who evangelized Modena, were looked upon as disciples of Valdés.

Whilst the churches of Naples resounded with the evangelical tones of Mollio, of Ochino, and of Vermigli, in Florence, the home of Savonarola their precursor, silence was enforced by the sovereign authority of Cosimo de' Medici. To the noble outburst of liberty which had marked the last years of the fifteenth century, had succeeded a reaction both in politics and religion. Nevertheless, a few faithful friends, Fra Benedetto, the historian Nardi, and Stefano Vermigli, father of Peter Martyr, had cherished a reverent regard for the spirit of their "holy prophet." And, towards 1525, we behold the rise of a younger generation, who devote themselves to the examination of the Scriptures, and who undertake the translation of them into classical Italian. In 1530 appeared the first Italian translation of the New Testament,[15] by Antonio Bruccioli, with a dedication to Renée of France, Duchess of Ferrara; and, some years later, came that of Massimo Theofilo (Lyons, 1556). Pietro Carnesecchi and Pietro Martire Vermigli were also Florentines; but, despair-

[14] Benrath, *Bernardino Ochino of Siena*, 1875, trans. by Miss Zimmern: London, 1876, pp. 63, 68, 156.

[15] [That is to say, the first Protestant version. The *first* was that contained in the Italian Bible edited by Nicolò di Mallermi (or Malherbi), published at Venice, 1 Aug. 1471; and there were many editions of this, as well as of the Italian version of the Bible by Giovanni Rosso of Vercelli, first published at Venice, 1487.]

ing of obtaining liberty in the territory which had given them birth, they, like Dante, sought in exile freedom of conscience.

Two small Republics in the neighbourhood of Florence, Siena and Lucca, enjoyed liberty of thought for some time longer. Siena, the birthplace and home of St. Catherine, often listened to Ochino's pleadings for reformation, and the similar appeals of Aonio Paleario, both children of hers. She gave birth to Lattanzio Ragnone, one of the first pastors of the Italian Church at Geneva, and to Mino Celsi, the apostle of toleration. Siena, too, was the cradle of the illustrious family of the Sozzini.[16]

Lucca was the State which furnished the largest contingent of Italian Protestant emigrants.[17] The flourishing, though secret, church of this city owed its existence to the combined exertions of Peter Martyr, who as prior of San Frediano (about 1540) had founded at Lucca a college or seminary for the study of the classical languages, and of Aonio Paleario, who was Professor of Latin Literature in the Academia during the years 1546—1555. It was in Lucca, at San Frediano, that the Latinists Curione and Lacisio, the Hellenist Martinengo, and the Hebraists Emanuele Tremellio and Giulio Terenziano, were professors. They almost all embraced the principles of the evangelical Reformation, and we shall meet them again on foreign soil.

It is well known that Ferrara, under the generous stimulus of Alfonso I., rivalled Florence in the cultivation of literature and philosophy (1527). The young Duke, Ercole II., having married Renée, daughter of Louis XII., who had been brought to a knowledge of the gospel by Marguerite de

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[16] Cantù, *Gli Eretici d'Italia* (1865—1867); see vol. ii., Appendix, for a genealogy of the Sozzini [which needs some correction]. M'Crie, *ut sup.*, p. 444.

[17] Moerikofer, *Gesch. d. Prot. Flücht. i. Schweiz*, chap. v.: Leipzig, 1878

Valois, and by her governess, Madame de Soubise, the court of Ferrara became the centre of literary reunions, whose members were not slow to discuss the "one thing needful," the question of salvation. Clement Marot and Lyon Jamet, who were secretaries to the Duchess, Calvin and Hubert Languet, who were her correspondents, communicated to the literary circle the influence of Protestant France; while, on the part of Italy, Marcantonio Flaminio and Fulvio Pellegrino Morato, father of the incomparable Olympia Fulvia Morata, were the brightest gems in this crown of Ferrara.[18]

But neither Naples, nor Lucca, nor even Ferrara, are to be compared with Venice and her territory in respect of the activity and continuance of the evangelical propaganda. It will be remembered that Altieri, the Secretary to the English Embassy, was the medium of relations between the Protestants of Venice and the Reformers of Germany and Switzerland.[19] Baldo Lupetino, Provincial of the Franciscans in the Venetian territory, displayed no less zeal for the conversion of souls. He it was who gained over to the cause of the gospel his cousin, Mattia Flacio Illyrico (Mat. Flach Francowitz), the chief author of the ecclesiastical history known as the *Centuriæ Magdeburgicæ*, and of the *Catalogus Testium Veritatis;* but he expiated his zeal by a captivity of twenty years, crowned at length by martyrdom.

The Bruccioli and the Braccietti were among the founders of the evangelical church at Venice; while two brothers, Pierpaolo Vergerio, Bishop of Capo d'Istria, and Giambattista Vergerio, Bishop of Pola, carried the light of the gospel into

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[18] See the fine work of Jules Bonnet on *Olympia Morata.*

[19] He wrote a letter to Luther on behalf of the Protestants of Venice (24 Nov. 1542), praying him to influence the German princes to intervene in their favour; and it is to him that we may reasonably attribute the letter to the ministers of Geneva (6 Dec. 1542), written in the name of all the brethren of the church of Venice, Vicenza and Treviso.—Calvini *Opera*, vol. xi. 438.

Istria and the district of Trent. Furthermore, the numerous printers and merchants of Venice, among others the brothers Bruccioli, disseminated throughout the peninsula the Italian version of the New Testament and of the other books of the Bible, as well as the Latin writings of the Reformers. The Council of Ten, zealous for the independence of Venice, closed her gates against the Inquisitors, at the same time opening them to refugees in the cause of religion. Under favour of this toleration, secret congregations of Protestants were formed in Treviso and Vicenza. The University of Padua, in its turn, saw its students and many of its professors won over to the gospel; Antonio della Paglia (Paleario) and Matteo Gribaldo taught there for many years.

If now we take our stand on a height above these particular phenomena, to contemplate, as in a bird's-eye view, the general movement of the Reformation in Italy, we shall have no difficulty in perceiving the principal causes which could not but impress upon it an Antitrinitarian bias. What strikes us, on the first glance, is the absence of any great personality, like that of Luther, Zwingli or Calvin, concentrating in itself the aspirations of all, and furnishing them, by the force of its genius, with a common expression and a common organization. It is not that the Italians were deficient in the raw material of genius; assuredly Pietro Martire Vermigli is to the full as keen a theologian as Calvin, and Bernardino Ochino bears the palm from Luther for power of oratory; but, whether because they were too near Rome, or because they could count on no adequate support from their princes, they were unable to assume the direction of the movement. Besides, the repressive force exerted by the Holy See was so strong at the outset, even within the free republic of Venice, that the churches, placed under a ban which compelled them to assemble in secret, were from this circumstance unable to provide themselves with a regular organisation. They remained in the condition of *églises*

plantées (stick-fast churches), as Théodore Beza calls them; not having minister, liturgy or discipline, still less any confession of faith, to set bounds to the rationalism of individual members. To these causes add, lastly, the feeling which leads the oppressed to take in every respect a line opposed to that of their persecutors, and it will be easy to understand how it was that Italy presented a favourable soil for the unrestricted exertion of free inquiry, and for the development of the most anti-catholic and anti-clerical opinions.[20]

If circumstances fostered this tendency, no less true is it that the natural temperament of the Italians led them in the direction of critical discussion and scepticism. The revival of classical literature had brought back the study of the ancient philosophers, Plato and Aristotle, and had emancipated the human mind from the yoke of scholastic rules. No sooner was the penetrating and subtle intellect of the Italians set free, than it applied its solvent to traditions that seemed most soundly established. Lorenzo Valla (d. 1457), the true precursor of Erasmus, by application of the rules of historical criticism, had demonstrated the falsity of the pretended Donation of Constantine, and the legend of the origin of the so-called Apostles' Creed. And, later, Pietro Pomponazzi, Professor of Philosophy at Padua and at Bologna (1488—1525), did not hesitate to declare that, according to Aristotle's doctrine, the human soul is mortal; that is to say, it participates in immortality only so far as it has a knowledge of the Universal.[21] It was Pomponazzi who, doubtless to shelter himself from the censures of the Church, drew that imaginary distinction between the domain of Faith and that

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[20] The Universities of Bologna and Padua were at that time centres of daring speculation and free thought. See Lecky, *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*, vol. i. 370 ff.: London, 1882.

[21] See Trechsel, *ut sup.*, vol. ii. 10—12. Cf. Lecky, *ut sup.*

of Reason, which is convenient perhaps for weak natures, but fatal to religious sentiment and sincerity of conscience. But, above all, the study of Cicero's writings had disseminated in most literary circles a sort of eclectic philosophy, content to acknowledge the data of the universal consciousness (*consensus generis humani*), such as the existence of a God, the immortality of the soul, and the duties of man, without probing the problems of metaphysics.

Further, the science of Law, held in such great esteem at the Universities of Bologna and Padua, and conferring a hereditary glory upon the Alciati, the Gentili and the Sozzini, developed among the Italians a demand for equity, and, so to speak, a geometrical method of reasoning, which would ill adapt themselves to the dogmata of the Trinity, the two natures in Christ, and the vicarious atonement.

Lastly, among the general causes of the Antitrinitarian movement in Italy, we have hitherto omitted to notice the influence which the monotheism of the Jewish doctors was sure to exert on the Hebraists who studied under them. The truth is, the Jews played a very important part in the revival of the study of Oriental languages in Italy. Since the end of the fifteenth century, the family of the Soncinati, from Soncino near Cremona, had established printing-presses in the principal cities of southern Europe; and, in 1518, Daniel Bomberg brought out at Venice a magnificent edition of the Hebrew Bible, with rabbinical commentaries. The first Hebraists of Italy, Pico della Mirandola, uncle and nephew, Agathias Guidaccerio (the first Professor of Hebrew at the College of France) and Egidio of Viterbo, had been pupils of Jewish doctors. And if, in the contact of the two religions, we note some conversions from the old to the new, as was the case with Felice of Prato and Emanuele Tremellio, who were of Israelitish origin, and became professors of Hebrew at Rome and Oxford,—on the other hand we must acknowledge the marked influence of Judaism, in an Anti-

trinitarian direction, upon the Hebraist, Francesco of Mantua.[22]

We are by this time in a position to resume our fundamental question, Did there exist, in the Italy of the sixteenth century, any Unitarian tendencies? And if so, within what circles, and in the case of what individuals, were they brought out? The result of our scrutiny of the general conditions of Italian Protestantism is, that everything bore in this direction. But have we come across the name of any one who should disengage the consequent of all these aspirations, and discover the formula of Antitrinitarianism?

Yes, two men proved the awakeners of the theological intellect in the Italy of the sixteenth century, and these two, strange to say, were not Italians, but Spaniards—Miguel Serveto y Revés and Juán de Valdés. It was as though Providence had willed that the spark of truth should flash from the contact of the two pre-eminently Latin races. Gentile and Gribaldo, Acontius and the Sozzini, have the same title to be reckoned disciples of Servetus, that Ochino, Vermigli and Curione have to be deemed heirs of the spirit of Valdés.[23] Even as the influence of the translated *Considerazioni* of Valdés is felt in Ochino's *Dialogi Sette*,[24] so do we find the writings of Servetus[25] current, during the period 1533—1544, in the circles of Padua, Vicenza and Venice. Let us, then, seek to determine how far this pair of gifted pioneers contributed to the formation of Italian Unitarianism.

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[22] M'Crie, *ut sup.*, pp. 42 ff. Trechsel, *ut sup.*, vol. ii. 76.

[23] [The names of Acontius and Curione might perhaps be transposed.]

[24] [The *Six Dialogues* of 1539; not to be confounded with his more famous *Dialogi XXX.* of 1563.]

[25] [The reader must carefully bear in mind that this refers to the earliest publications of Servetus, the *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, 1531, and the *Dialogi de Trinitate*, &c., 1532; not to his mature work, the *Christianismi Restitutio*, 1553.]

We will begin with Valdés, who is catalogued by Christoph Sand as second in his chronological series of Antitrinitarians. What gave rise to this presumption was doubtless a letter of Théodore de Beza (2 Sept. 1566).[26] In this circular to the Churches of East Friesland, Beza smartly scolds a minister of the French Church at Emden for having had the *CX. Considerations* of Valdés translated into Flemish. From this book, he says, Ochino had imbibed his profane speculations; and he points out that the work of the Spanish knight contains several Anabaptist errors and blasphemies against the Holy Scriptures; among others, the following, derived from *Considerations* 32, 46 and 63.

1. "The Holy Spirit, being the source of Scripture, is superior to it, and can alone give the key to its interpretation. The Spirit has retained the power of revealing divine truth to the heart of man, as in the days of the Apostles; and this inward and present revelation is more fresh and vital than the written Revelation."

2. Moreover, on the question of free-will and grace, Valdés admits, with Erasmus and Melanchthon, and contrary to the opinion of Luther and Calvin, that the human will has retained the faculty of appropriating the divine grace (*Præcedente gratia, comitante voluntate*).

It will be observed at once that Beza brings no charge against Valdés in the matter of the Trinity. And, moreover, if we turn to the actual works of the Spanish thinker at Naples, we shall there meet with categorical declarations such as the following: "Christ is no mere man, but one and the same thing with God. The understanding of the relations of the Father with the Son and the Holy Spirit is

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[26] Beza, *Œuvres*, vol. iii. ep. 4. See Appendix IV. [Sand gives as his authority for Valdés' antitrinitarianism a rare work by Francis Dávid, *De Falsa et Vera Unius Dei Cognitione*, 1567, bk. i. chap. 3.]

above my comprehension; may God be pleased some day to clear up this mystery to me."[27]

Thus we see that Valdés, like the sage Melanchthon and the prudent Erasmus, kept to the declarations of the Scripture on this point. As regards the Athanasian dogma, he pronounced neither for nor against it. This of itself does not afford sufficient grounds for classing him among the Antitrinitarians.

Still, if the gracious and mystic master kept this reserve, it is very probable that several of his immediate disciples went to greater lengths. Balbani expressly notes in Valdés' company "a band of Anabaptists and abominable Arians, whose brood had swarmed in Naples and throughout the kingdom, and put in peril the faith of the Evangelicals."[28] Again, we shall find among the Antitrinitarian refugees in Switzerland and the Val Tellina many Neapolitans and Sicilians who had been within the circle of Valdés' influence, including Valen-

[27] Boehmer's art. on Valdés in Herzog's *Encyclop.* [Without its context, the expression above (suggested by the ἕν of John x. 30) is somewhat misleading. Valdés was no Sabellian. Readers of his works will observe a distinction between what he says when he is dealing with essentials, and what he gives as his own fuller opinion. Thus, in the *Latte Spirituale*, written for the instruction of children, the doctrine presented, though not technically Arian, does not get beyond what is best known as the Clarkean scheme, and the Trinity is expressly reserved as a topic for advanced Christians. The Trinity is not a topic with which Valdés anywhere deals. He avoids it even in commenting upon Matt. xxviii. 19. But he frequently expresses his belief in the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, offers doxologies to Christ, and once (*Opusc.* p. 145) gives glory and honour to him "with the Father and the Holy Spirit." As regards the personality of the Spirit, the *Latte Spirituale* tells us that "this Holy Spirit is a divine favour, by which God vivifies our minds, maintaining them in spiritual life," just as the air we breathe vivifies the body.]

[28] Balbani, *Vie du Marquis Galeace Caracciolo*, Geneva, 1587, 12mo. [Originally published in Italian, 1581; the English translation, 1608, by W. Crashaw (who ascribes it to Beza), has been often reprinted.]

tino Gentile of Cosenza, Francesco of Calabria, and Camillo Renato of Sicily.

While Valdés limited himself to placing the testimony of the Holy Spirit above Holy Scripture, and declaring the dogma of the Trinity to be incomprehensible, Servetus did not hesitate boldly to attack this dogma, in the name of the Bible and of Reason. Although Spanish by birth (1511),[29] the education of Servetus was chiefly French. It was at Paris that he studied medicine, and in France that he made his splendid discovery of the (pulmonary) circulation of the blood. But in his nineteenth year he had, as page of the confessor Quintana, been present at the coronation of Charles V. at Bologna. His two earlier works on the Trinity (1531, 1532) were no sooner printed at Hagenau in Alsace by Setzer, than they got into circulation throughout northern Italy, and recruited his cause with numerous partisans. A shrewd suspicion of this transpires in Melanchthon's letter to the Venetians (1539), in the judicial examination of Servetus at Geneva, and in the miserable apology for his conduct which Calvin felt called upon to publish after the death of his victim.[30]

What then were the ideas propounded by Servetus? On the question of the Trinity, Servetus sets out with these two axioms: 1. That the nature of God is one and indivisible; 2. That the nature of God can only be subject to *dispositiones* (modes of relation) and not to divisions. It follows that the

[29] [There are two possible dates for the birth of Servetus at Tudela in Navarre, 1509 and 1511, each depending on his own sworn testimony; but the evidence for 1511 is cumulative and irresistible. His education was Spanish and French (at Saragossa, Toulouse, Lyons, Paris and Montpellier); none of it was Italian, excepting the education of travel, in his pre-scientific period, to which also belong his brief residences at Basel and Strassburg.]

[30] Henri Tollin, *Das Characterbild M. Servet's* (1876). See Appendix to the French translation by C. Dardier (1879), pp. 64, 65.

Persons of the Trinity are, in his view, only metamorphoses of one and the same God. The Son is no other than the Word of God, manifested in time, and not from all eternity. The Holy Spirit is again God, communicating himself to men by the ministry of angels.

With regard to Jesus of Nazareth, Servetus starts from the point of view adopted by the English Unitarians, that his humanity was in the strict sense real and historical; and he proves from the express words of Scripture, that the man Jesus was at one and the same time the Christ or Messiah, anointed with the Holy Spirit; the Son of God, begotten in time; and God, by the fulness of the divine life which was in him.

Thus, from the point of view of Servetus, it was not God who had, so to speak, split and abased Himself in a hypostasis, of human form, called Jesus, which would be incompatible with the unity of the Divine nature; but it was the man Jesus who had been exalted and associated, on the ground of his merits, with the Majesty Divine. In two words, Christ is man by nature, God by the grace of the Father. The whole of the Socinian Christology exists in germ in this formula of Servetus.[31]

These ideas, spread abroad by his books and by an active correspondence, were rapidly disseminated at Mantua, Padua, Vicenza, Venice, in the valleys of the Grisons, the Val Tellina, the Val Bregaglia or Bergell, and the Val di Poschiavo, where numbers of exiled Italians had taken refuge. They

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[31] Baur, *Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit*, vol. iii. 54—62 ff. [This account of the Christology of Servetus must be received with some caution. It is based, not on his riper teaching in the *Christ. Rest.* (1553), but solely on the first (1531) stage of his opinions. And into this it imports inferences which, so soon as they were drawn by his critics, Servetus expressly rejected. F. P. Sozzini himself, who knew the early writings of Servetus well, distinctly says: "Negamus Servetum fuisse progenitorem nostrum" (*Opp.* ii. 535), and gives good grounds for his denial.]

certainly were the subject of frequent discussions in those secret conferences at Vicenza, which brought together in 1545—1555 the élite of Venetian Protestantism, and were the cradle of modern Unitarianism.[32] So, on learning that the author of the *Dialogues on the Trinity* (1532) and the *Christianismi Restitutio* (1553) had, in 1553, been delivered to the flames and burned at the stake by his pitiless adversary, nothing was heard throughout the camp of the Italian Unitarians but a cry of indignation against Calvin. Gribaldo, who had been unable to obtain audience of the "Pope of Geneva," wrote a letter on the heroic martyr to the brethren at Vicenza. Lelio Sozini did not conceal his grief; and Camillo Renato addressed Calvin, in his beautiful Latin poem, on the unjust burning of Servetus.[33] When their turn came, the disciples of Servetus, tracked by the spies of the Inquisition, had to leave Italy and take refuge in Switzerland (some time after 1547-48). But this very exile was favourable to the development of Unitarian Christianity. Till then, never knowing when the stroke of persecution might fall, the Italian Unitarians had been content with vague aspirations and with negations of established dogma. Henceforth, in the freer air of the Alps, they will give precision to their arguments and formulate their systems. We emerge from the period of sterile agitations, to enter upon that of rational conceptions.

[32] Trechsel, vol. ii. app. i. [But in this Appendix, Trechsel, so far from supporting, conclusively disproves the whole myth of these Vicenza conferences.]

[33] Trechsel, vol. i. app. iv.

CHAPTER V.

The Italian Reformed Churches in Switzerland.—Antitrinitarian Controversies.—Relations with England.

1. The Reformation in the Italian Bailiwicks.

On the way from Italy into Switzerland, high up the mountain beds of the Adda and the Ticino, beyond those azure mirrors known as the Lago di Como and Lago Maggiore, on the southern slope of the Rhaetian Alps, we come across the valleys known as the Val Tellina, Val Bregaglia, Val di Lugano and Val Maggia. This region, exposed to the rays of the southern sun, and sheltered from the winds of the north by a screen of mountain peaks, suggests, by the mildness of its climate and the richness of its productions, a dream of the garden of Eden. In the hollow of the valley are yet, as formerly, to be seen numerous flocks feeding in the verdant meadows. Half way up the mountain sides, roads bordered by pomegranate and fig trees, interlaced with vine branches, lead to the fertile fields which often yield in one season two crops of barley, wheat or maize. Higher still, laurels, cyprus and chesnuts crown the amphitheatre with their different shades of verdure. In the sixteenth century, this favoured region was inhabited by a commercial and industrious population, of Latin race and language, subject to the Bishopric of Como and the Duchy of Milan. Here were a great number of Franciscan and Dominican convents. Notwithstanding, from the remoteness of the situation, a great number of heretics were also to be found here, from the eighth to the eleventh century,

including the Waldenses, or "Poor men of Lyons," as they were then often called.

At the opening of the sixteenth century, this privileged district, which possessed, moreover, a high strategic importance as the key to communications between Germany and Italy, fell into the hands of the Swiss, as if Providence had resolved to prepare a refuge in time to come for exiles in the cause of the gospel, fleeing from the bloodhounds of the Roman Inquisition. The Grey League (Grisons), allied with Massimiliano Sforza against France, took from the latter the counties of Bormio, Chiavenna and Val Tellina (vale of the Upper Adda); while the twelve Swiss cantons received from Sforza, as remuneration for the keys of his capital which they had retaken (Oct. 1512), the lordships of Lugano, Locarno and Domo d'Ossola (vale of the Upper Ticino). This last, it is true, was lost by the Swiss after the battle of Marignano. Thus these Italian bailiwicks fell under two different governments. The bailiwicks of the Upper Adda were dependent on the three Grey Leagues, and were administered by Syndics or Podestas appointed by the general Diet, which sat every two years, alternately at Curia (Chur or Coire, chief town of the *Lia da Ca Dé*, House of God League), at Davos (Tavau, chief town of the *Lia Grischa* or *Alta*, Grey or Upper League), and at Glion (Ilanz, chief town of the *Lia dellas Desch Dretturas*, Ten Jurisdictions' League). On the other hand, the bailiwicks of the Upper Ticino were governed by bailiffs or commissioners sent every second year by the twelve cantons of Switzerland in turn.[1]

It had been expressly stipulated at the time of the transfer, that the bailiwicks should retain their separate laws and usages, and remain under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Como. These conditions were religiously

[1] Rosio de Porta, *Historia Ecclesiarum Reformatarum Rhæticarum:* Chur, 1770—1774.

observed by the bailiffs, whether Swiss or Grison, who contented themselves with levying an annual tribute on the revenues of these rich valleys. But it was impossible to prevent the Reformation ideas, when they had broken out in Switzerland, from penetrating into these Italian bailiwicks by the assistance of a more liberal legislation on the subject of religion.

It was at the Diet of Ilanz (1526) and that of Davos (1544) that the statutes were passed which determined the Grison legislation on the subject of worship, and favoured the development of the Reformation in the Italian bailiwicks, while at the same time guarding its development from the divarications inseparable from every political or religious crisis. At Ilanz, it was enacted that every individual of either sex and every condition, in the territory of the Confederation of the Three Leagues, should be permitted to choose and profess either the Catholic or the Evangelical creed, and that no one should be allowed, under severe penalties, to reproach another on account of his religion, whether in private or in public. Furthermore, an old law was revived and enforced, according to which ministers were forbidden to teach anything except what was contained in the Old and New Testaments, or could be proved thence; and the parish priests were enjoined to devote themselves assiduously to the study of the Holy Scriptures, the only rule of faith and morals.[2]

Later on, at Davos, it was decreed that the Protestants of the Italian bailiwicks should have the right of maintaining pastors for themselves and their families at their own charge; and free right of asylum was accorded to exiles in the cause of religion, on condition that they paid caution money, and conformed to the faith of the national Church.

These arrangements, liberally conceived for the sixteenth century, were highly honourable to the deputies of the Grison

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[2] M'Crie, *ut sup.*, pp. 357, 368.

Republic, and powerfully assisted in the dissemination of the gospel, effected by the exertions of Biveroni (Tutschet) and Comander (Dorfmann), Fabriz and Saluz, the Reformers of the Grisons.

On the other hand, in the Ticinese bailiwicks, depending on the Twelve Cantons (seven Catholic and five Protestant), the administration of the law of public worship was more arbitrary and variable, in consequence of the biennial charge of bailiffs, delegated now by a Catholic, now by a Protestant canton. Nevertheless, the influence of magistrates so devoted to the gospel as Jakob Werdmüller of Zürich (1530—1532), and Joachim Baeldi of Glarus (1542), the distributor of Bibles, could not be effaced by all the Inquisitors in the world.

The great obstacle, however, to the Evangelical propaganda in these districts was the difference of language. The people spoke an Italian dialect, of which the Swiss commissioners and preachers knew not a word. In the Grisons the difficulty was still greater, for here four different tongues were spoken, German, Italian, Latin and Romanic. A further difficulty was the lack of candidates for the ministry. Hence the arrival of the Protestant refugees from Italy was hailed with an enthusiasm such as would have greeted a reinforcement of picked troops at the critical moment of a battle. With good reason were these refugees from the Roman Inquisition received with open arms. For it was theirs to be the true missionaries of Protestantism in Latin Switzerland; yea more, in their religious consciousness they bore with them two prophetic principles—the one, the Personal Unity of God; the other, salvation, not by faith in book or rite, but by the spirit of Christ that maketh alive.

The road which the greater part of these exiles followed passed through Chiavenna, a small town situated at the entrance of the Val Bregaglia (formerly Prægallia); thence they reached the Engadine, arriving at Chur by the Julier-Alp, and at Zürich by the valleys of the Rhine and the Seez.

Between 1542 and 1550, these wild gorges saw more than two hundred refugees passing on their way. By 1559, their number had risen to eight hundred, and it continued to increase up to the closing years of the sixteenth century.

The first Italian evangelist of the Val Bregaglia was a certain Bartolommeo Maturo, formerly prior of a convent of Dominicans at Cremona, who had been led to the gospel by witnessing the secret vices of the cloister, and the sham miracles performed by his fellow-monks. He was preacher during eighteen years (1530—1547) at Vicosoprano, where he was succeeded by the restless Pierpaolo Vergerio. This man, who had been Bishop of Capo d'Istria and Papal legate in Germany, could never tie himself to any settled abode. We find him by turns at Chiavenna, at Zürich, at Basel, and at length at Tübingen, preaching in season and out of season, crying up one set of people, blackening another, and holding but one fixed idea, namely, to make war on Antichrist, that is to say the Pope, with volleys of pamphlets, which he got printed at Basel or at Poschiavo, and spread throughout the Milanese territory by means of his friends at Locarno and Chiavenna.[3]

The Val di Poschiavo, which unites the Val Tellina to the Engadine by the Bernina Pass, had as its missionary, between 1540 and 1570, Giulio di Milano, a doctor of theology and distinguished preacher, converted by Valdés. He had been thrown into the dungeons of the Inquisition at Venice. It was on his behalf that Bernardino Ochino uplifted his voice, in a *Predica* delivered in that city in 1542.[4]

He had been so fortunate as to make his escape, and devoted all his talents and the remainder of his life to the

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[3] Meyer, *ut sup.*, vol. i. 51, 61.

[4] He must be carefully distinguished from Giulio Terenziano, who was from Florence, and the faithful companion of Pietro Martire Vermigli at Strassburg, London and Zürich.

evangelisation of Poschiavo and the adjacent towns, Tirano and Teglio, in the Val Tellina. Through his aid, Rodolfo Landolfi established a printing-press at Poschiavo, which rendered great services to the cause of the evangelisation of the Grisons, and to that of the antipapal polemic in Italy. From this press came the first Protestant works issued in the Romani language, namely, Biveroni's translations of Comander's German *Catechism* and of the New Testament, with the Psalms in verse. So much dreaded was this printing establishment by the Roman Catholics, that, during the negociations entered into by Spain and the Holy See with the Grey Leagues on the subject of the passage of the allied forces through the Val Tellina (1561), the envoys of the Pope demanded its suppression.[5]

Chiavenna, as we have seen, was the head-quarters of the Italian refugees. Situated a little to the north-east of the Lago di Como, on the Mera, a tributary of the Adda, and at the entrance of the Val Bregaglia, this town was the nearest haven of refuge out of Italy, and offered a safe shelter to those shipwrecked in the great storm of persecution. From about 1539, we find there Agostino Mainardo, an ex-Augustinian of Saluzzo and Doctor of Theology, whose preaching had made him suspected of a Lutheran tendency. He had been heartily welcomed by the Pestalozzi and de Salis families, who were already in sympathy with the Reformation. Around him soon gathered about a hundred Protestants, among whom were such men as Camillo Renato, Lodovico Castelvetro, the brothers Lelio and Camillo Sozini, Francesco Negri and Lodovico Fieri. In 1544, thanks to the Statute of Davos, the little community was enabled to establish itself in the chapel of Santa Maria del Paterino, granted by the proprietor of the soil, Ercole de Salis. The church continued to grow, in spite of a good many quarrels, partly due

[5] M'Crie, p. 382.

to Mainardo's negligence, and his susceptibility of temper. He remained its pastor until his death in 1563, and was succeeded by Girolamo Zanchi, the Hebraist.

While thus at Chiavenna the Reformed Church enjoyed the protection of the Grison laws, that of Locarno was exposed to all the mischief-making of the bailiffs delegated by Catholic cantons. A certain Giovanni Beccaria, no more than a schoolmaster of the Franciscans at Locarno, became the modest and indefatigable instrument of the Evangelical movement in that town. Converted by reading the Bible and the writings of Zwingli and Bullinger, he entered, about 1544, into correspondence with Conrad Pellican, who had also belonged to the Order of St. Francis. He had procured, too, the delivery of some evangelical sermons, the preacher being a compatriot and brother monk, Benedetto, rector of the Franciscans at Bologna. Through the affection he inspired in his pupils, quite as much as by his private converse, he had won many souls for Christ. Among his more distinguished pupils were Lodovico Ronco, student of law, and his friend Taddeo Duno, student of medicine; and among the friends of the gospel were representatives of some of the best families, e.g. Giovanni and Martino Muralto, the one practising as a physician in the town, the other, a Doctor of Laws and advocate; with the high-born Milanese gentlemen, Varnerio Castiglione and Antonio Maria Besozzo, formerly tutor to the son of Count Filiberto di Masserano.[6]

These evangelical communities, directed in the period 1544—1562 by Italian preachers, most of whom had formerly belonged to religious orders, but who had received no regular instruction or ordination for their new work, enjoyed a high degree of independence. In principle they had adopted the Presbyterian organisation which prevailed in the other parts of Switzerland. As a final court of appeal they acknowledged

[6] Meyer, *ut sup.*, p. 388.

the authority of the General Synod of the Grisons, which met at Chur in the month of June each year, from 1537, and which had promulgated in 1551 the Rhætic Confession of Faith.[7] In point of fact, however, the representative church sessions, set over each separate church, were autonomous; they alone had the right of nominating and dismissing pastors.[8] It is easy to see how favourable was this soil for the development of the Antitrinitarian opposition, which dates from the same period, 1544—1562.[9]

It was in the Lower Engadine and the Val di Poschiavo that the first symptoms of it made their appearance. Francesco of Calabria, pastor at Fettan, and Girolamo Marliano of Milan, pastor of Lavin, who claimed to be disciples of Ochino, and who, without doubt, had like him belonged to the Capuchin Order, pushed the doctrine of predestination to the point of making God the author of evil, and reached the verge of moral indifferentism. Having to defend himself in 1544, in a public discussion at Süs, against Philipp Saluz, professor at the seminary of Chur, Francesco fell into the other extreme. He made the grace of God the real and supreme cause of redemption, reducing the work of Christ to a merely instrumental position, as the secondary cause. In this there was still only a subordinationist tendency.

But with another preacher, Tiziano, this tendency reached the verge of the denial of the Trinity and of the divinity of Jesus Christ. According to Tiziano, the Holy Spirit is the prime mover in the work of redemption. Jesus was born of

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[7] Trechsel, *ut sup.*, vol. ii. 121. Cf. De Porta, i. 2, p. 197.

[8] [The rights of patrons were vested in the church sessions.]

[9] Nine of these Grisons churches still exist, Brusio, Poschiavo, Casaccia, Vicosoprano, Stampa, Soglio, Bondo, Castasegna, Bivio. In 1880 they reckoned 2384 members. They have discarded the Helvetic Confession, and most of their pastors are liberal. See *Free Ch. Monthly*, Dec. 1883.

a human father and mother, and became the Saviour of men only because he was filled with the Spirit of God.[10]

Tiziano, who was but an itinerant preacher, and who had gained several adherents in the Val Tellina and Val di Poschiavo, was cited before the Grison Synod, convicted of having revived the heresies of the Ebionites and of Helvidius,[11] and obliged, under pain of death, to make a humiliating recantation (June, 1554). Thereafter he was beaten with rods at the several cross-ways in Chur, and banished for ever from the territory of the Three Leagues. This sentence, which to us appears harsh, was very mild in the eyes of the orthodox of that day, with whom the penalty of death against heretics was almost an article of faith; and the good Philipp Saluz thought himself bound to apologise, in a letter to Bullinger, for not having burned this emulator of Servetus.[12]

It was also in the name of the Holy Spirit that Camillo, who styled himself Renato, protested against the attribution of a supernatural character to the Sacraments, and against the dogma of vicarious satisfaction through the merits of Jesus Christ. Camillo, by birth a Sicilian, after having suffered much in Italy in the cause of the gospel, 1542, had taken refuge with his friends Curione and Stancaro in the Val Tellina, where he filled the office of tutor successively at Tirano and at Caspano, where, through his knowledge of Latin literature, as well as his pious and retiring character, he stood high in the good graces of the powerful family of the Pallavicini. Cautious in temperament, he first touched the discussion in a correspondence with Bullinger on the

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[10] De Porta, i. 2, pp. 70, 78.

[11] [A layman at Rome at the end of the fourth century, who taught that the brethren of Jesus were later-born sons of Mary, and thus denied her perpetual virginity.]

[12] Trechsel, *ut sup.*, vol. ii. 83, 84.

meaning of the two Sacraments. In his eyes they had no value except as a testimony of our faith and of Christian love. Hence he denied the value of Catholic baptism; questioned whether there was any use in employing in baptism the triple formula; and expressed a wish for the revival of communions in the form of *agapæ* (love-feasts).

But, once settled at Chiavenna (from 1545) in a circle where he was surrounded with more ardent sympathisers, he openly attacked the doctrine of redemption. With him, as with Tiziano, Christ possessed no expiatory or sacrificial merit. He suffered to expiate the original sin in himself, which made him fallible; and the service which he did for us was to reveal to us the way of salvation. But the true Redeemer is the Holy Spirit of God, working in man and transforming him into a new creature. Before this new birth, man is but a miserable being, destitute of reason and even of immortality; only after it is he reconciled with God and destined to eternal life.[13] These theories, which tended by implication to the denial of the second person of the Trinity, and to the Socinian conception of redemption, found a violent adversary in Mainardo, one of the two pastors of Chiavenna, who drew up a special Confession of Faith, which he required every member of his flock to sign, with a view to exclude Renato and his adherents. After lengthy controversies, which were carried before the Synod of Chur, and in which Vergerio did not fail to put in his restless finger, Camillo Renato was excommunicated, and withdrew to Traona, in the Val Tellina. But, keeping up relations with Curione, Francesco Negri and Stancaro, he continued to exercise a marked influence over the younger theologians, including Lelio Sozini, his friend, and Gianandrea Pallavicini, his pupil (Sept. 1554). From Traona it was that he launched against Calvin that imprecation in Latin verse

[13] Trechsel, *ut sup.*, vol. ii. 85 ff.

on the subject of the execution of Servetus, which is one of the most eloquent of pleas for religious toleration.[14]

Traces of Camillo Renato's ideas may clearly be discerned in the last Antitrinitarian controversy which we shall mention in connection with the Italian bailiwicks. It was started about 1558 by two ministers of Chiavenna, Pietro Leone and Lodovico Fieri, in conjunction with Girolamo Turriano, pastor at Plurs, and Michel-Angelo Florio, aforetime pastor in London, then at Soglio. These theologians followed Renato in denying the doctrine of vicarious satisfaction through the merits of Jesus Christ; this they did in the name of the Scripture, which says not a word of the doctrine; and they assigned the leading part in redemption to the grace of God, who has declared and accepted the sacrifice of Jesus Christ as a sufficient expiation for our sins. What contributed yet more to recommend their theory was, that they professed to know, through the brothers of Lelio Sozini, members of the church at Chiavenna, that Ochino shared this way of looking at the matter; and it is a fact that the celebrated Capuchin adopted the acceptationist point of view. Cited by the irritable Mainardo before the Synod at Chur, these ministers endeavoured to obtain support of the Zürich theologians. To this end they addressed to them (24 May, 1561) a series of twenty-six questions, propounded with great elevation of sentiment, and rather with the object of protesting against constraint in matters of faith, than of setting out a statement of their own peculiar views. The real tendency of these may be judged by the following specimens:

"Art. 4.—Whether it will not avail more for the attainment of eternal salvation, to adore in silence the most holy mystery of the Trinity, than rashly to speak of it otherwise than the holy writings teach, and according to the various opinions of men?

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[14] Trechsel, *ut sup.*, vol. i. app. iv.

"Art. 5.—Whether, for the attainment of eternal life, a clearer or sharper understanding of the most holy Trinity is necessary for us, than that which is transmitted to us by the Holy Spirit in the divine writings?

"Art. 6. —Whether the ministers and teachers of the churches of God may compel the simple and unskilful, under pain of deprivation of the Lord's Supper, to employ, when they discuss the most holy Trinity, other words and terms (by them ill understood) than those which, in the sacred writings, the Holy Spirit uses?

"Art. 20.—Whether any one should be excommunicated, as an obstinate and convicted heretic, for simple error in the article of the Trinity (whose most sacred mystery is hardly comprehended by the angels), however much, in all other respects, he be of blameless doctrine and life, yea adorned with most laudable morals, and the greatest charity towards the poor?"[15]

It is obvious that the drift of these interrogations was, without calling in question the dogma of the Trinity, to pass over the topic in silence, as being external to Scripture, and as doing more harm than good to the salvation of souls.

But the confession of Lodovico Fieri, at the Synod of Chur, was quite another thing in the way of explicitness. He asked for a discussion on Article 20, above; and declared that, for his part, he differed from the church of Chiavenna on the three following points. He did not believe (1) that Jesus was the Eternal Son of the Father; (2) that he was equal with God; (3) that he was the creator of the world. These declarations were undisguisedly Antitrinitarian; hence the members of the Synod at Chur, less tolerant than the theologians of Zürich, confirmed the excommunication of Lodovico Fieri and Pietro Leone.[16]

But the progress of true ideas is not to be arrested by excommunication, any more than by martyrdom; and these

[15] *Quæstiones Ministrorum Ecclesiarum quæ sunt apud Rhætos.* Trechsel, vol. ii. app. v. See Appendix V.

[16] Trechsel, vol. ii. 131.

doctrines, banished from the Val Tellina, were destined to make their way in England.

2. The Italian Church at Geneva.

Picturesque and smiling as were these valleys of Bregaglia, Tellina, and the Engadine, they did not offer sufficient intellectual, much less sufficient theological food, to satisfy that ardent hunger and thirst for religious truth which animated the Italian Protestants. So, while a majority of the refugees remained in these localities, the flower of them only passed through, and proceeded to settle, as far as this was possible to a race so mercurial and enterprising, in the great evangelical centres of Switzerland and Alsace, at Geneva and Zürich, Basel and Strassburg.[17]

It was at Geneva (1542) that the first Italian church was gathered together. A certain number of Italians, such as the Lifforti and Della Riva families, had been domiciled there for some time back, brought thither by intercourse with Savoy and the business of commerce.[18] But the first arrests of the Roman Inquisition cast as it were a flood of emigrants on Geneva, bringing introductions to Calvin from the duchess of Ferrara, or from Aonio Paleario.[19] To the city which had banished him three years previously, Calvin had in fact gone back as its master; and his Ecclesiastical Ordinances, accepted by the vote of 2nd January, 1542, and enforced with a will of iron, made Geneva a kind of holy city, a new Zion, where the sound of games and feasts had given place to sermons, catechising, and singing of psalms.

Geneva beheld the flower of Protestantism thronging

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[17] Calvini *Opera*, vol. ix. 441 (Letter from Bullinger to Vadian, 19 December, 1542).

[18] Galiffe, *Le Refuge Italien de Genève:* Geneva, 1881, p. 56.

[19] J. G. Schelhorn, *Amœnitates Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ et Litterariæ:* Frankfort, 1737—1740, vol. i. 462.

within her walls, from Piedmont, Tuscany and the Venetian territory. Among them were Alciati, Castelvetro, the Balbani and Burlamacchi from Lucca, Caracciolo and Martinengo (Oct. 1542). At their head, towering above them with his crown of whitened hair, and with the splendour of his oratorical renown, appeared Bernardino Ochino of Siena. The eloquent general of the Capuchins, converted by the gentle and penetrating power of Valdés, had continued to preach salvation through Christ, under the veil of mysticism. But his generous protest, at Venice, against the incarceration of Giulio di Milano, had betrayed him. Summoned before the fiery tribunal, he had fled; at the age of fifty-five sacrificing everything, glory and fatherland, to the dictates of his conscience. Calvin received him with the respect due to his age and character, and supported his application to the council for the grant of a place of worship for his fellow-countrymen. The Genevese magistrates granted them, 23rd Oct. 1542, the use of Cardinal Ostia's chapel, called the Chapel of the Maccabees, adjoining the cathedral of St. Peter.[20] From November 1542 to 1545, Ochino had the joy of preaching the gospel with perfect frankness in his mother tongue. To this period belong the later volumes of his *Prediche*, printed in Italian and Latin at Geneva in 1542—1544, and continued at Basle, 1544—1549. He mentions also and commends, in one of his letters, an explanation of the Catechism which was given every Sunday; and the congregational service, a sort of conference, in which each member had the right of bringing forward what the Holy Spirit suggested to him, after the example of the Apostolic Church.[21]

Although there were two other preachers among the Italian

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[20] *Registers of the Council*, 23 Oct. 1542.

[21] *Prediche di Bernardino Ochino da Siena:* Geneva, 1542, Sermon i. § 10.

refugees at Geneva, one of whom was named Girolamo di Melfi, it appears that, after the departure of Ochino for Basel and Strassburg, public worship in Italian suffered a temporary interruption. But in 1552, on the arrival of Galeazzo Caracciolo, Marquis deVico, and under his auspices, it was resumed, and placed under the direction of Lattanzio Ragnone, former master in the college of San Frediano at Lucca, and friend of Vermigli; with him, soon afterwards, was joined Count Celso Massimiliano Martinengo of Brescia, (1553—1559.)

At first the Italians held their revived services in the hall of the old Collége de Rive, and afterwards at the Madeleine. In 1555 the council granted the Italians the use of the Madeleine Chapel and that of the Auditoire alternately; and in the following year, the Italian Church was organised on the Geneva model. It had a church session (*collegio*), composed of the two pastors, four elders (*seniori*), and four deacons (*diaconi*). The Marquis de Vico was chosen one of the elders, and during thirty years filled this office, with a devotedness and fidelity the more remarkable from his being exposed to many temptations and importunities on the part of his father, wife and children, who remained at Naples in the bosom of the Church.[22] There was also a catechist and a precentor.[23]

This community afforded a rallying-point also for the Spanish refugees, among whom were Juán Perez de Pineda, Cassiodoro de Reyna, and Juán Diaz, assassinated in 1546; they were too few in number to form a separate church.[24] It was during the ministry of Martinengo and Ragnone that the Antitrinitarian controversy broke out in Geneva. It is

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[22] *Bulletin du Protestantisme Français*, 2 ser., vol. iv., art. by Jules Bonnet on the Marquis de Vico. Cf. Vincentio Burlamacchi, *Memorie diverse delle Chiese Italiane* (1650), MS. in the Archives of Geneva.

[23] Galiffe, *ut sup.*, pp. 37—39.

[24] *Ibid.* p. 71.

well known that, years before this, the first books of Servetus on the Trinity had penetrated into Switzerland and Italy, and had been much read (1539); but when the Spaniard despatched to Calvin the manuscript (1546) of his forthcoming *Christianismi Restitutio*, he unconsciously kindled a conflagration which was not to be extinguished.

In this his last work (printed 1553) the physician of Vienne sought to reconcile the elements of truth in the Catholic tradition with the evangelical dogmata. He completed his theory of the Logos, only roughly drafted in his first two works, and propounded his special views on adult baptism and the millennial reign. The Logos, in his eyes, is the ideal Divine Reason, which, after having created the world, and clothed itself in different forms or masks (*personæ*), found at length its perfect incarnation in Jesus of Nazareth alone. The Word and the Spirit are two modes of varied revelation of one and the same divine substance. Thus Servetus, not daring boldly to substitute the perfect humanity of Christ for his divinity, fell into Sabellianism.[25]

But, in place of meeting it with a courteous return, Calvin kept the manuscript and sent a harsh rebuke to its author. Nay, so soon as it was printed, he authorised a French gentleman, Guillaume de Trye, to communicate extracts from it to the Inquisitor at Lyons, who had the author arrested as a suspected heretic. All the world knows what followed; how Servetus only escaped from the prison of the episcopal palace at Vienne, to fall a victim at the pyre of Champel. He expired in the midst of the flames, invoking the mercy of "Jesus, Son of the Eternal God."

This tragic and undeserved end excited a lively indignation in the bosom of the Italian Church at Geneva, among

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[25] Baur, *Die Christliche Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit.* Cf. A. Gordon, *Miguel Serveto-y-Revés*, in *Theological Review*, April and July, 1878. [According to Servetus, the perfect humanity of Christ *is* his divinity.]

all the refugees in Switzerland. While David Joris despatched from Basel his appeal to the Swiss towns in favour of tolerance, and Camillo Renato directed his apostrophe to Calvin, Matteo Gribaldo, Bernardino Ochino, and Lelio Sozini did not conceal their grief.[26]

Matteo Gribaldo, professor of law at the University of Padua, and lord of Farges in the district of Gex, not having been able to obtain audience of Calvin, resolved, shortly after the execution of Servetus, to make reprisal. The congregational usage of the discussion society, which the Italian Church had borrowed from the Reformed Church at Geneva, afforded him an excellent opportunity for propounding his ideas on the Trinity. Maintaining respect for the objective notion of the Trinity, he conceived of the three Persons in the following way. The Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit were, in his eyes, three distinct divine hypostases (constituent personalities); while with Servetus they were but modes of manifestation of one and the same Person.[27] There was, however, in Gribaldo's view, no other relationship between the Persons but that of species; the Son and the Holy Spirit were two varieties of the species God, subordinated to the Father. Gribaldo struck against the rock directly opposed to the position of Servetus; he fell into tritheism; and even thereby he prepared the way for a Unitarian Christology.[28]

In fact, after the exile of Gribaldo, who was pursued by the theological hatred of Calvin as far as Tübingen, where he had been appointed professor, Gianpaolo Alciati, a Piedmontese officer, and Giorgio Biandrata, a physician from

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[26] Benrath, *ut sup.*, p. 217.

[27] [Say, rather, Being; Servetus never applies the term *persona* to the *Deus in se*, the unmanifested God.]

[28] Trechsel, vol. ii. 282—300. [Gribaldo's own terminology contains no trace of a doctrine of "varieties of the species God."]

Saluzzo, continued the discussion. They maintained that the traditional dogma of the Trinity was contrary to holy Scripture and to reason, denied the duality of natures in Christ, and held, on the authority of the Bible and the epistles of Ignatius, that Jesus Christ, though very God and very man, experienced death in his whole being on the cross, and consequently was inferior to the Father.[29]

Valentino Gentile of Cosenza in Calabria, a tutor, and Silvestro Telio, a refugee from Rome, and friend of Betti, shared these Antitrinitarian views, and defended them with a perseverance worthy of a better fate. They found apologists also among several ladies of the Italian congregation.

Now this opposition, stronger in talent than in numbers, gave much trouble to the two pastors, and one of them, Martinengo, who had himself, shortly before, given in to the Sabellian tendencies of Renato and Pallavicini, adjured Calvin, from his death-bed, to take pity on his flock, and preserve it from the artifices of these unquiet spirits. So Calvin, in concert with Lattanzio Ragnone (d. 16 Feb. 1559), the surviving pastor, compiled on 18 May, 1558, a Confession of Faith, which so defined the dogma of the Trinity and the divinity of Jesus Christ, as to exclude at the same time the heresy of Servetus and the error, in the contrary sense, of Biandrata, Gentile and Gribaldo.[30]

This Confession, maturely deliberated, and adopted in public session, was signed by all the members of the Italian Church, except perhaps Biandrata, Alciati, and Francesco of Padua. Six others, Telio, Porcellino, Rustici, Gentile, Pelerino and Nicolao Gallo, scrupled at it in the first instance. These latter, however, after three days' hesitation, decided

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[29] Trechsel, vol. ii. 303—315.

[30] *Ibid.* vol. ii. 312, 313. Cf. M'Crie, *Reformation in Spain*, pp. 351 ff.

to subscribe it without reserve.[31] But Valentino Gentile, secretly encouraged in his heresies by Gribaldo, was arrested and condemned to death as a heretic and a perjurer. As he recanted, he was released from the death penalty. He retired at that time to the district of Gex, afterwards to Grenoble and Lyons, where he published his *Antidota*. Subsequently he went to Poland with Alciati and Biandrata, who both remained there. But Gentile, having had the imprudence to return to Switzerland, was retaken at Gex by the most high and puissant lords of Bern; and, this time, refusing to accord absolute divinity to the Son, he was beheaded (10 Sept. 1566). Thus tragically perished the last mover of the Trinitarian controversies in the Italian Church at Geneva.

3. The Italian Church at Zürich.

From 1525, Zürich was considered by the Protestants of the Milanese district as the "city set on a hill" spoken of in the gospel, from which the light of Jesus Christ was destined to rise on those who were plunged in darkness. It was to Zwingli, the valiant chaplain of the Swiss troops in Italy, that those of the laity or of the religious orders who hungered and thirsted for truth and liberty, directed their gaze. An Augustinian of Como, Egidio à Porta, wrote (1525) to Zwingli, praying him to deliver him from the Pelagian errors in which he pined, and to teach him the true doctrine of Christ.[32] Somewhat later, a Carmelite of Locarno, Baldassare Fontana, asked the Evangelical Cantons to send him the writings of the "divine" Zwingli, of Luther, and of

[31] Archives of Geneva, *Procès Criminels*, 1st series, No. 746. See Appendix VI. [See also Fazy, *Procès de Valentin Gentilis et de Nicolas Gallo*, 1878.]

[32] Meyer, *ut sup.*, vol. i. 137. Cf. Zwinglii *Opera*, *ut sup.*, vol. vii. 447.

Œcolampadius; supplicating them in a touching manner "not to refuse him, a poor Lazarus, the crumbs that fell from the master's table."[33] Varnerio Castiglione, a high-born Milanese gentleman, Beccaria, rector of the school at Locarno, and the members particularly of the Order of St. Francis, preferred to have recourse to their former fellow-labourer, Conrad Pellican, as a member of the fraternity who had been emancipated by Biblical research. The hospitable abode of this learned Hebrew professor at Zürich speedily became a refuge for the most distinguished of these refugees. We shall find there, in succession, Beccaria and Castiglione, Lelio Sozini and Pietro Martire Vermigli.[34] Bullinger, in his turn, also received several Italian fugitives, including Ochino (Dec. 1542).[35] Up to that date they were but few in number. But, in May 1555, a veritable caravan of emigrants entered Zürich. It was the entire church of Locarno, with scarcely an exception (120 to 180 souls), which had quitted its sunny home rather than abjure the faith of the gospel. Vainly had they appealed to the treaties which guaranteed a freedom of worship in the Italian bailiwicks; vainly had they presented a Confession of Faith in strict conformity with the Apostles' Creed and those of the Œcumenical Councils. The arbitrary decree passed (18 Nov. 1554) at Baden in the Aargau must take its course, and all that the Zürich bailiff, Johann Räuchlin, had been able to do, was to allow them the respite necessary for realising their property, and to recommend them to the Christian love of his fellow-citizens. The heads of the principal patrician families of Locarno led the way: Martino Muralto,

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[33] Meyer, *ut sup.*, vol. i. 127.

[34] Concerning the evangelical tendencies of a great number of Franciscans, see Meyer, vol. i., notes 66 and 72.

[35] Calvini *Opera*, vol. xi. 441 (Letter from Bullinger to Vadian, already quoted).

doctor of laws, Taddeo Duno, doctor of medicine, Bartolommeo Orelli, notary public, with their wives. Among those of the middle class may be mentioned the names of Appiano, Ronco, and Clara Orella, wife of Besozzo.[36] After having provided for their material wants, the Zürich magistrates granted them the use of the Church of St. Peter for worship in Italian, and invited them to choose a pastor.

Beccaria having declined their call, on account of insufficient theological culture, their unanimous choice fell upon Ochino, who had already exercised pastoral functions with universal acceptance at Geneva (1542—1545), at Augsburg (1545—1547), and in London (1548—1553), and who had acquired a great reputation by his writings.

The exiles from Locarno had elected a church session, composed of four elders (soon afterwards increased to six, out of respect to Vermigli and another refugee of distinction). Two of them, Martino Muralto and Lelio Sozini, were deputed to carry the letter of invitation to Ochino, who was then with his family at Basel. A few weeks later, Ochino preached his first sermon at Zürich. The arrival, in the following year, of his old friend Vermigli, summoned to succeed Pellican in the chair of Hebrew, was a doubly-prized accession; since it brought to Ochino the counsels of a tried friendship, and the assistance of a colleague who filled his place in the pulpit whenever he was absent or ill.[37]

During the eight years of Ochino's ministry at Zürich, he did more than discharge his pastoral functions with an indefatigable devotion, preaching, consoling the afflicted, opening his house to exiles, including Acontius and Betti (1557), and

[36] Meyer, *ut sup.*, vol. ii. *passim*, and Appendix vii. to vol. i.

[37] Benrath, *ut sup.*, pp. 225, 240. It was a Locarnian named Filippo Appiano who was appointed to fetch Ochino's family, which had remained at Basel, and to house them at Zürich in the bailiff's residence of the Rütli convent, which had been allotted as a manse for the minister of the Italian church.

visiting widows, for instance Isabella Manriquez and her son, old friends belonging to the Valdés circle. He displayed, in addition, a theological productiveness truly marvellous, when it is remembered that he was sixty-eight years of age at the time of his call to Zürich. It was in this city that he composed his dialogue on *Purgatory* (translated into German by the son of Zwingli); his treatise on the *Lord's Supper*, in answer to the attacks of the Lutheran doctor Westphal on the Sacramentarians; his *Labyrinths*, a dissertation on free-will and predestination, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth of England; his *Catechism*, for the use of his parishioners; and, finally, his *Thirty Dialogues*, on the Messiah, the Trinity, &c. (Basel, 1563).[38]

Since the death of Servetus nothing so bold had appeared on these burning questions as the last-named work, in two volumes. In the first, Ochino refutes the various objections brought against the Messiahship and the redeeming work of Christ, putting them into the mouth of a Jew named Jacob. Even at this stage, considering the sharpness with which the objections are presented, one is tempted to ask if the author does not rather share the opinion of the Jew than that of the Christian. But in the second volume, dedicated to Prince Mikolaj Radziwill, Ochino clearly betrays a tendency to place the strongest arguments against the Trinity in the mouth of the opponent, in such wise that the reader may be led to agree with him.

It required some courage on Ochino's part to propound his doubts concerning this most sacred dogma, even under the indirect method of dialogue. The unanimity with which the Swiss theologians had approved the execution of Servetus, should have forewarned him that the Athanasian Creed was not to be lightly treated with impunity. But he knew, as the motto he placed on the title-page of earlier works

[38] Benrath, *ut sup.*, pp. 245, 264.

indicates, that "Truth overcometh all" (*omnia vincit veritas*, 1 Esd. iii. 12); and he was ready, like his divine Master, to suffer persecution in this holy cause.

Denounced to the Zürich magistracy by a merchant of the town, who had heard the book spoken of at the Basel fair,[39] and abandoned by his colleagues of the Zwinglian church, Ochino was condemned to exile, without even being allowed to defend himself. A widower, accompanied by four children, he set forth on his journey of exile, in the depth of winter, at the age of seventy-six. After having been repulsed in succession from Basel, Mühlhausen, Nürnberg, and even from Kraków, and having lost three children, owing to sickness and privation, he succumbed beneath the weight of so many insults and sorrows, and died at Slavkov in Moravia (1564). His martyrdom had lasted nearly a year. But, by his preaching and his writings, he had brought light to the minds of many who entertained his doctrines, at Geneva, Basel, Augsburg, London, Zürich, and the Val Tellina. Among these must be mentioned that devoted member of the church of Locarno, Antonio Maria Besozzo, of whom we have so frequently spoken, and who in the following year was also excommunicated, and expelled from Zürich as being tainted with the heresies of Servetus and Ochino (1565). He raised aloft the banner of Unitarianism at Basel, which had been struck down by the Trinitarians at Zürich.[40]

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[39] [The portion which excited popular clamour was the polygamy dialogue (xxi.); but, in their second report to the Senate, the Zürich ministers specify also the tendency of the book to cast doubts on the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, and the necessity of atonement.]

[40] Trechsel, vol. ii. 272—276. Cf. Meyer, vol. ii. 156—195. Besozzo was followed to Basel by many Locarnese families (Appiano, Rosalino, Versasca).

4. The Italian Church at Basel; Focus of Anti-Calvinist Opposition.

The Church of Basel, thanks to the liberty at that time enjoyed by the imperial cities, had assumed an independent attitude towards the two opposite poles of Reformed Switzerland, Geneva and Zürich. Under the leadership of Œcolampadius, Oswald Myconius, and above all of Simon Sulzer, moderator (*antistes*) of the presbytery, it had entered into friendly relations with the Lutheran churches of South Germany, Augsburg and Strassburg. Furthermore, the University of Basel, covered with fresh glory by the long residence of Erasmus, had very extensive privileges; while the press, represented by the celebrated printers Froben, Oporinus (Herbst), Pietro Bizarri of Perugia, and Pietro Perna of Lucca, enjoyed there an extraordinary freedom. Thus Basel had been, in good season, a refuge for the victims of the intolerance of the North and of the South. David Joris, Jérôme Hermas Bolsec, Besozzo, and especially the eminent Sebastian Castellio (Chateillon), found there a safe harbour, and established a philosophico-literary centre, in opposition to Calvin and his *alter ego* Theodore Beza.

A situation thus privileged was sure to attract the eyes of the Italian refugees. So, from the early years following the establishment of the Inquisition, many emigrants of distinction took up their residence at Basel, the d'Annoni and Curioni of Piedmont, the Grataroli of Bergamo, the Colli à Collibus of Alessandria, Mino Celsi and A. Socini (with his five sons), from Siena, the Betti of Rome, the Zannoni of Vicenza, and the Balbani, the Diodati and the Micheli of Lucca.[41]

But there were two who eclipsed all these; one by his

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[41] Moerikofer, *ut sup.*, p. 418. Cf. extract from the *Registers of the French Church at Basel*, communicated by Pastor Bernus.

eloquence and his controversial ability, the other by his literary and teaching powers, Ochino and Celio Secondo Curione. The former only stayed two years, 1553—1555) at Basel, but many of his books were printed there; his sermon on *Justification* (translated into Latin by Curione (1554), the five volumes of his *Prediche* (1548—1562), his dissertation on the *Lord's Supper* (1561), his *Labyrinths* (1561), his *Catechism* (1561), and lastly, his famous *Thirty Dialogues* (translated into Latin by Castellio, 1563).[42]

As to Curione, nominated professor of Latin eloquence, and thus colleague of Castellio at the academy of Basel, he attracted thither during twenty-three years (1546—1569) a crowd of hearers, as much by his piety and the charm of his social intercourse as by his literary culture. He entered, too, into correspondence with all the European men of letters, including Sir John Cheke, and, following in the steps of Erasmus, he gathered around him at Basel a literary and evangelical circle, in which the Italian element predominated.[43] If we may judge from the dialogues of

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[42] Benrath, *ut sup.*, pp. 219 ff.

[43] Trechsel, vol. i. 208, 217. Cf. Lecky, *ut sup.*, vol. ii. 46. It appears from the researches which Pastor Bernus has kindly undertaken for us in the Archives of Basel, that there was no organised Italian Church in that city before the middle of the seventeenth century. The refugees from the Italian peninsula were at first joined to the Evangelical Church of Basel; afterwards, from the time of the formation of the French Church in 1582, a portion of the Italian refugees attached themselves to it; Giovanni Francesco Castiglione, for example, elder of the Church at Basel in 1588. The numbers of the refugees being augmented in the first half of the seventeenth century by the arrival of the families of Pallavicini and Stuppani from the Engadine, the Fatio family from Chiavenna, and others, they were authorised to found an independent church. Andrea Costa, ex-Theatine of Piacenza, doctor of philosophy and theology in the University of Padua, converted at Basel 1657, was received into the ministry, and preached with great success in the Italian Church. After him, Giovanni Toniola (originally from the Grisons) became the pastor of the Italian

Curione, *De Amplitudine Beati Regni Dei*, and from the celebrated work of Mino Celsi, *In Hæreticis coercendis quatenus progredi liceat* (1577),[44] long confounded with another work, sometimes attributed to Lelio Sozini,[45] there reigned in this group of refugees a universalist tendency and a spirit of tolerance, which present a striking contrast to the particularism and intolerance of the Reformers of the North. Hence Calvin accused them of "permitting all sorts of discordant disputations, and of regarding the controversies on the Trinity and predestination as open questions."[46]

But in our eyes this reproach is their glory; for it proves that these Christians, without abandoning the gospel foundation, had succeeded in rising superior to the dogmatic prejudice of their age.

It was accordingly through this tendency to set God's love above His justice, and to regard the gospel as in harmony with reason, that Castellio, Curione, Celsi, and their like, prepared the way for the Unitarianism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

5. Relations of the Italian Refugees in Switzerland with England.

We have already indicated the sympathetic relations which existed as early as 1531 between the Swiss theologians and the English Reformers; and the scheme which Cramner had entertained of forming at his palace of Lambeth a sort

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community, which he served faithfully during thirty years. This Toniola was the author of *Basilea Sepulta*, and father of J. Toniola, a celebrated professor of law at Basel. Cf. *Athenæ Rauricæ:* Basel, 1778.

[44] [A second edition bore the title, *De Hæreticis capitali supplicio non afficiendis* (1584).]

[45] [This was the *De Hæreticis an sint persequendi* (1553).]

[46] Calvini *Opera*, vol. xv. 2118 (Letter from Calvin to the Church of Poitiers, 22nd February, 1555).

of synod of the most learned divines of the Continent, with a view to arrive at an agreement concerning the fundamental points of Christian doctrine.

The heads of the conflicting parties, Calvin and Melanchthon, having declined the generous invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, he was desirous at any rate of turning to account the good-will of other theologians, so as to raise the standard of theological studies, which at Oxford and Cambridge had fallen very low, and thus to form a nursery of trained ministers for the Anglican Church. Sir John Cheke, the learned preceptor of Edward VI., and the correspondent of Erasmus and Curione,[47] was of great assistance to him in this delicate task, by drawing his attention to men of mark on the continent.[48]

Furthermore, the terror of the Roman Inquisition, and the severities of the Augsburg Interim, supplied him with an excellent occasion for carrying out his plan. Then it was that Bucer and Fagius from Strassburg, and John à Lasco from Emden, acceded to Cramner's invitation.

Among these guests of the Archbishop, Primate of all England, a great number, even a majority we think, belonged to the Italian emigration, and came from Switzerland and South Germany.

There had been formed at Augsburg, a place of commercial importance owing to the banking establishment of the Fugger family, an Italian congregation, of which Ochino had been

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[47] Cheke, professor at St. John's College, Cambridge, was one of the revivers of classical and Biblical learning in that University. It is to him that Curione had recommended Ochino; and further on we shall see him on friendly terms with John à Lasco. Cf. Olympiæ Fulviæ Moratæ *Opera:* Basel, 1570. At the end will be found *Cœlii S. Curionis Epistolæ.* (See p. 287, "Curio, Johanni Keko:" Basel, Sept. 1547.)

[48] Castellio dedicated his Latin version of the Bible to Edward VI. in 1551, following the example of many Swiss theologians, Bullinger, Calvin, &c.

pastor after leaving Geneva (1545—1547). Strassburg also counted its distinguished Italian refugees; Pietro Martire Vermigli, professor of Hebrew; Paolo Lacisio, professor of Greek; Girolamo Massario, professor of medicine; Girolamo Zanchi, the Citolini and the Odoni (1553—1563). Strassburg was at that time the half-way stage on the road which travellers followed in going from Basel to London. This will explain why most of the Italians halted there in December 1547.[49] It was thence that Ochino and Vermigli, accompanied by their faithful companion Giulio Terenziano, started on their journey to England; Lelio Sozini and Pietro Bizarri of Perugia also passed through in 1548; and it was there, on the other hand, that the English Protestants proscribed by Mary Tudor, Foxe, Grindal, Ponet and Sampson, pitched their camp.

The generous offers of the English king, Edward VI., not only reached Basel and Zürich, but also the Val Tellina. Mainardo and Zanchi, pastors of Chiavenna, Martinengo, pastor at Geneva, and Vergerio, the ecclesiastical inspector (*visitator*) of the Italian churches in the Val Tellina, were thus invited to cross over to Great Britain, at that time the citadel of Protestantism in Europe. From Soglio, in the Val Bregaglia, came the first minister of the Italian Church in London (1551—1553), Michel-Angelo Florio; and thither he returned in 1558.[50]

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[49] According to a memorandum communicated by M. Rod. Reuss, librarian at Strassburg, there was not in that city, any more than in Basel, an organised Italian Church. The refugees of that nationality, such as Vermigli and Zanchi, attached themselves to the French Church, of which those just mentioned soon became elders.

[50] Meyer, *ut sup.*, vol. i. 57, 59, note. Cf. *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letter 234 (Martyr to Bullinger).

CHAPTER VI.

The Strangers' Church in London.—Birth of the Unitarian idea.

THE reasons which induced Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of London, to invite foreign scholars to come to his aid in the work of raising the standard of the English Universities, have already been passed in review. Two other motives, of a less interested character, influenced him in the same direction; the project of establishing an agreement among all the Protestant churches on certain controverted points, including the question of the Eucharist, and the hope that when they returned home to their respective countries, these emigrants would all disseminate the same evangelical doctrine. From the accession of Edward VI. there was in the policy of Cranmer an elevation of view, and a catholicity of sentiment, which prove that his intellect was of a higher order than his character. Freed from the despotic sway of Henry VIII., he threw his energies into the scale of progress and liberty. The continental theologians who first responded to his appeal were Italians and Spaniards. On 20 December, 1547, Bernardino Ochino and Pietro Martire Vermigli arrived in London, after a favourable journey of six and a half weeks from Basel, and received the Archbishop's hospitality at Lambeth palace.[1] Peter Martyr was at once

[1] The memorandum of their travelling expenses, drawn up by Sir John Abel, who had been charged to conduct them from Basel, gives curious details concerning their dress, arms and horses; unfortunately, the list of the theological books bought for Ochino at Basel is lost; for

appointed professor of theology at Oxford, where he was rejoined by his faithful companion Giulio Terenziano, who, doubtless, acted as his amanuensis. Vermigli had married at Strassburg a French lady named Dammartin, a refugee from Metz. He took an important part in the controversies on the Lord's Supper, which were evoked by the Bill in Parliament introducing communion in both kinds into the Anglican Church, and which excited also much interest in the Strangers' Church, by whose members he was often consulted.[2]

As for Bernardino Ochino, furnished with a recommendation from C. S. Curione to Sir John Cheke, preceptor of Edward VI., he was presented to a prebend at Canterbury, in January 1548, without obligation of residence; and was commissioned, as at Augsburg, to preach before the Italian community at London, consisting of merchants and of refugees. He too was married, and the father of a little daughter, and he rejoiced in the birth of a son during his sojourn in England. Cranmer commissioned him to invite Wolffgang Musculus (Mösel), who had been his neighbour as pastor of the German Reformed Church at Augsburg, and was now menaced by the Interim; but Musculus preferred to withdraw to Bern.[3] Ochino did not content himself with regularly discharging the duties of preaching and the cure of souls; he continued to exert his powers as writer on topics of the day. It was in London that he composed his *Tragœdie* (existing only in the English translation, 1549), a kind of dramatic dialogue, directed against

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Vermigli were purchased the Basel editions of Augustine, Cyprian, and Epiphanius. See *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., p. 541, note. Cf. Benrath, *Ochino*, p. 186.

[2] *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letters 225, 226. Cf. *Cranmer's Memorials*, vol. i. 338.

[3] *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letters 161—163 (Ochino to Musculus).

the unjust supremacy of the Bishop of Rome; and the third volume of his *Prediche* (1551). While Peter Martyr was of a calm and peaceful disposition, altogether averse to theological subtleties and discussions of the Byzantine type, Ochino's temperament was ardent and adventurous, loving arduous questions and paradoxes, undisturbed by contradictions or by calumnies, since he had confidence in the triumph of truth.[4]

The year 1548 witnessed the arrival of Francisco de Enzina, Tremellio, Bizarri and others. The first of these, born at Burgos in 1520, had taken the name of Dryander (oakman, from *encina*). He was the author of the first translation of the New Testament into Spanish, dedicated to Charles V. (1543).[5] Having escaped the gaolers of the Inquisition at Brussels, he had gone to pursue his studies under Melanchthon. He was the bearer of the answer from Melanchthon to the letter of Edward VI., inviting him to the synod of theologians projected by Cramner; and although this reply was in the negative, Dryander was well received, and appointed professor of Greek at Cambridge. He had also attended several classes at Zürich, and kept up a correspondence with Bullinger.[6] According to Melanchthon, he was "a learned man, serious, and endowed with a rare virtue, displaying a philosophic ardour in all his engagements." Emanuele Tremellio, sprung from an Israelitish family of Ferrara, had already taught Hebrew in the San

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[4] See, in Benrath's *Ochino*, App. iii., the beautiful device placed at the head of his *Prediche:* "If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you; but truth overcometh all things."

[5] [The first published translation. Juán de Valdés seems to have been the first to translate the New Testament from Greek into Spanish. Portions were published, with commentary, in 1557.]

[6] See Boehmer, *Spanish Reformers*, vol. i. 152; *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letters 170, 174. Cf. Strype, *Eccles. Memorials*, vol. ii. 1st part, pp. 188, 189.

Frediano college at Lucca, under the auspices of Peter Martyr; he too was married, and obtained the preferment of canon of Carlisle, until a professorial chair should fall vacant. Ultimately he succeeded Fagius.[7]

As for Pietro Bizarri of Perugia, an eloquent humanist, also exiled from Italy for having professed the gospel faith, he was for many years secretary to John Russell, Earl of Bedford (created 1550, d. 1554), and afterwards became lecturer at St. John's College, Oxford. While there, he composed in Italian a curious history of the war in Hungary between the Emperor and the Turks (1569), and other histories.[8]

France and Alsace also furnished their contingent to this select body of learned refugees in England.

Pierre Alexandre, a native of Brussels, who had already been "preacher to Queen Mary of Hungary, Governess of the Low Countries," and professor of theology at Heidelberg, obtained a prebend at Canterbury, and was commissioned to lecture to candidates in theology on the Fathers of the Greek Church, Ignatius, Irenæus, Origen and Epiphanius, with special reference to the anti-Romish controversy.[9]

In Canterbury also was placed at the head of the French and Walloon refugees, Valérand Poullain, a gentleman of Lille, active and high-souled, but somewhat turbulent and disputatious. He had succeeded Pierre Brully as minister of the French Church at Strassburg. Having quarrelled with some prominent elders of his church, Johann Sturm, Peter Martyr and Tremellio, he had been obliged to resign

[7] Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. i. 306 ff. Cf. Haag, *La France Protestante*, art. *Tremellius*.

[8] *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letter 164 (Pietro di Perugia to Bullinger). Cf. Bayle's Dictionary, ed. Birch and Lockman, art. *Acontius*.

[9] See Rod. Reuss, *Notes sur l'Eglise Française de Strasbourg*: Strasb. 1880. *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letter 157. Cf. *Biographie Nationale Belgique*, vol. i. 217.

in favour of Jean Garnier of Avignon; he did not suspect that later on he would see, as second in succession to him at Strassburg, this same Pierre Alexandre, whom he then met at Canterbury.[10] In these ways persecution brought about an interchange of pastors and of good offices between the various reformed churches of Europe, such as, unhappily, takes place no longer, under our existing régime of peace on a war footing.

Precisely as Ochino had been commissioned to invite Curione and Musculus, was Pierre Alexandre requested to offer hospitality in England to Bucer and Fagius, who had been obliged to leave Strassburg on account of the Interim. He also received from Edward VI. the honourable mission of going to meet them at Calais with a view to procure them every facility for the cross-channel passage.

These two pastors arrived in London at the end of April, 1549, and were forthwith received at Lambeth Palace, where Archbishop Cranmer welcomed and entertained them as brothers, not as subordinates. With delicate attention he had gathered under his own roof their old Strassburg friends, to bid them welcome: Peter Martyr and Terenziano, Tremellio and de Enzina, and some pious Frenchmen as well.[11] Bucer was entrusted with the teaching of theology at Cambridge, while Fagius occupied the chair of Hebrew, which, after his death (Nov. 1549), fell to the lot of Tremellio. His colleague Bucer scarcely survived him a year, dying in February, 1551; but he played a great part in the organization of the Anglican Church.

In the month of March of the same year, 1549, John à Lasco,[12] reformer of the churches in East Friesland, had

[10] See Rod. Reuss, *ut sup.*, pp. 6 ff. Cf. *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letter 348 (Poullain to Calvin).

[11] *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letters 157 and 248 (Bucer and Fagius to the ministers of Strassburg).

[12] For what follows, see Jo. Utenhovius, *ut sup.*

come to London to prepare a refuge for his flock at Emden, in danger from the Catholic reaction, for which the Augsburg Interim had given the signal. He was a Polish baron, born at Warszaw in 1499, of one of the richest families in that city, and educated with the greatest care by his uncle, the Archbishop of Gniezno, primate of Poland. He had been converted to the gospel through intercourse with Erasmus and the influence of Hardenberg, and inclined towards the school of Melanchthon in his ideas of dogma. Furnished with a literary and theological culture of the first order, and endowed with a conciliating and generous disposition, he awakened sympathy by an abnegation well-nigh heroic, and commanded respect by his noble mien. Well received by the Archbishop of Canterbury and by Sir John Cheke, à Lasco was presented to the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, by his physician, Dr. Turner, and had little trouble in demonstrating the moral and political advantages of the reception of these refugees from Flanders and Friesland, the chief economical gain being the introduction of wool-weaving into England. After having charged one of his Italian friends, Signore Fiorenzio, to give an account of his interview with the Protector, to Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State, and having begged Cecil, by letter dated from Yarmouth, to let him know the result through a certain Robert Legate, an English merchant established at Emden, à Lasco returned to his flock.[13]

In his absence, Latimer, the valiant champion of evangelical reforms, then living in retirement at Lambeth, warmly pleaded his cause, and was not afraid to say in a sermon preached before the young king, that it was pity if John à Lasco, that most learned man and excellent Christian, had gone away for want of support; that the king would do himself honour, and forward the prosperity of the kingdom,

[13] See Strype, *Cranmer's Memorials*, vol. ii. app. 50.

in gathering together such men; and he applied to à Lasco's case the word of the Lord Jesus Christ, "He that receiveth you receiveth me."

It must not be too hastily imagined that all the English clergy beheld with a favourable eye the establishment of a Strangers' Church, enjoying its own government and separate form of worship. Many bishops, including Ridley, Bishop of London, whose mouthpiece was the Lord Treasurer, the same bishop to whose use the choir of the Augustin Church had been reserved, claimed to subject the Protestant refugees to the alternative of either adopting the Anglican ritual and liturgy, or else proving that these were not in harmony with the Word of God. These tactics were not wanting in cleverness; they were foiled by the firmness of Thomas Cranmer, who to the great surprise of many—for in the affair of Hooper he had not shown himself so liberal—was the principal champion of the rights and liberties of the Strangers' Church.[14]

Thanks to him and to the perseverance of John à Lasco, the latter obtained the letters-patent from Edward VI. which we have summarised in the fourth chapter,[15] and which have remained to this day a charter of freedom for dissenting worship in England. There were at that time in London at least three thousand Protestant refugees, for the most part of Flemish or Walloon origin, and perhaps two or three hundred Italians and Spaniards. Most of them lived in the parishes of St. Martins-le-Grand, St. Catherine Coleman, and St. Martins-in-the-Fields.[16]

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[14] *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letter 263 and postscript (Microen to Bullinger).

[15] See Appendix III.

[16] For statistics of the Protestant refugees in London, see *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letters 162, 163, 172 and 250. Cf. *Calendar of State Papers* (Edward VI.), which mentions the passage of two hundred Italians going northward. We have taken a mean between the exaggerated figures of Ochino, more than five thousand, and those of Bucer, six to

The privilege granted by the king was very extensive, as we have seen above.[17] He conceded to the two nations, the French and Dutch (the Walloons were ranked under the former, the Flemings under the latter title), the Church of the Augustins in perpetuity. Furthermore, full and entire liberty was granted them to elect their ministers, elders and deacons, with the single reservation that the successive superintendents and other ministers should be presented to and instituted by the king. In good sooth, à Lasco had obtained more than he had asked for; no English bishop, not even the Bishop of London or the Primate, had any supervision in the affairs of the church in Austin Friars, and the prelates were not at all pleased about it.[17]

John à Lasco was appointed Superintendent of the two branches of the church, and the choice of the young sovereign was ratified by general approbation. Richard François (Gallus), otherwise called Vauville, a disciple of Calvin, and François Martoret du Rivier (Riverius), otherwise called Perucell, were the first pastors of the French Church. The Flemings had as ministers Wouter Deloen, or Walter Delvin (Deloenus), ex-librarian of Henry VIII., and Marten Microen, an excellent friend of Bullinger.[18] As the king had undertaken the charge of repairing the Augustin Church, and as the work "was being protracted day after day" to a

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eight hundred, which appear to us too few. See also J. S. Burn, *Hist. of the French, Walloon, Dutch and other Prot. Refugees settled in England:* London, 1846, pp. 6, 7. [Ochino's figures (23 Dec. 1548) are confirmed to the letter by Musculus ("more than five thousand," 12 March, 1549), and corroborated by de Enzina ("four thousand," 5 June, 1549). Bucer's "six to eight hundred, all godly men" (14 Aug. 1549), were probably the residue left after successive deportations to the foreign settlements in the provinces.]

[17] Calvini *Opera, ut sup.*, vol. xiii. 1399 *(Utenhovius Calvino).*

[18] See *Werken van de Maarnix-Vereeniging*, part i. Kerkraad's *Protocollen der Hollandsche Gemeente te London* (1569—1571).

more lengthened period than their religious wants would allow, the Flemings obtained from "some citizens of London" the provisional use of another church, where Microen preached for the first time on the 21st September, 1550, before a congregation so numerous that the edifice would not hold them. The French had their place of worship in the chapel of St. Anthony's Hospital, Threadneedle Street.[19]

As soon as he saw things going on smoothly, John à Lasco gave his mind to furnishing the Strangers' Church with a regular organization.

He began by drawing up a Confession of Faith and a Catechism, in accordance with the principles of doctrine adopted by the church at Emden (1544). These two documents, dedicated to King Edward VI., were published, in Latin and in Dutch, for the use of the members of the community.[20] This creed, "founded," as he said, "on the authority of the voice of God, revealed by angels, the prophets and Christ," proclaimed the dogma of the Trinity, in the sense of three hypostases, distinct and yet united, conformably to the Baptismal formula.

It was next resolved that each branch of the church should elect its own church session and diaconate, by plurality of votes, but subject to the royal sanction. As regards the church session (*consistorium* or *concilium*), à Lasco, influenced by a passage from the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians (xii. 28), added to the two classes of pastors (*prophetæ* or *doctores*) and elders (*seniores*, *presbyteri*), a third class, that

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[19] *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letter 264 (Microen to Bullinger). For all that concerns the organisation of this Church, see the second volume of Dr. Kuyper's work, entitled, *Joannis a Lasco Opera, tam edita quam inedita*, 2 vols. 8vo: Amsterdam and The Hague, 1866.

[20] Kuyper, *ut sup.*, vol. ii. pp. 285—339, *Compendium de vera unicaque Dei et Christi Ecclesia, ejusque fide et confessione pura: in qua Peregrinorum Ecclesia Londini instituta est:* London, 1551. Cf. Calvini *Opera*, vol. xiv. 1432 (Letter from à Lasco to Bullinger, London, 7 Jan. 1551).

of assistants or men of affairs (*seniores subsidarii* or *politici viri*), who were specially charged to watch over the material interests, and maintain the rights and liberties of the church in its relations with the Government.

Another very useful institution of à Lasco was that of Biblical conferences (*prophetiæ*), which were held on Tuesday in the French church, and on Thursday in the Flemish church, on the model of the congregational usage of Geneva. In these conferences the laity had the right of discussing the sermons of the preceding week, while on the ministers devolved the duty of explaining obscure or doubtful points in their teaching.[21]

The first elections of elders and deacons took place in the two churches on 5th and 12th October, 1550, and the year following the Flemings had already three conferences, two in Latin, presided over by à Lasco and Deloen, and one in their mother tongue.[22]

They lacked but one thing, liberty to administer Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which had been accorded to them by the king's patent, but was withheld by the ill-will of the bishops.

In spite of à Lasco's exertions, the bishops, by their intrigues, ended in obtaining an Order in Council which obliged the Strangers to receive the sacraments "fettered by the English ceremonies," which to them appeared "intolerable to all godly persons."[23] The courageous Superintendent was more successful when he went before the Lord Chancellor and the Secretary of State to defend those members of his

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[21] Kuyper, *ut sup.*, vol. ii. 45—50, *Forma ac Ratio Ecclesiastici Ministerii in Peregrinorum Ecclesia:* Frankfort, 1551. Cf. *Theological Review*, Jan. 1876, art. Gordon on *Hook's Laud*, referring to records of the Walloon Church at Norwich. See Appendix VII.

[22] *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letters 264 and 265 (Microen to Bullinger).

[23] *Ibid.* 3 ser., Letter 264, postscript (Microen to Bullinger).

church whom the churchwardens would have compelled to resort to their respective parish churches, on pain of fine or imprisonment.[24]

To bring to a close what relates to the Flemish and Walloon Churches, we must mention the organisation and worship for which John à Lasco was arranging, at the very time when the *Ecclesia Peregrinorum* was again scattered.[25] A Lasco, in a letter to Bullinger, 7 January, 1551, after having informed him that the "Word" was held forth in Flemish and in French, in two different places of worship, and having begged him to forward to Calvin a copy of his Confession of Faith, added, "The Italians also will soon have their church; they have already a place of worship and a minister of their own, a pious and learned man, gifted with a rare eloquence, and who has suffered much for Christ's sake."

Is there a reference in this letter, as seems at the first glance, to Bernardino Ochino? We think not, for he was well known to Bullinger, and were it he, à Lasco need only have called him Master Bernardine, as in his other letters. Moreover, Ochino, wholly absorbed in the composition of his great polemical and metaphysical works, would doubtless have been unequal to the manifold exigencies of the regular pastorate. The minister in question can be no one but Michel-Angelo Florio, a proscribed Florentine, who had emigrated at the same time, doubtless, as Vermigli and Terenziano, and hence was already in London, enjoying the favour of Sir William Cecil, at the time of à Lasco's first visit.[26] There were besides in London two or three hundred

[24] Strype, *Cranmer's Memorials*, vol. ii. app. 51.

[25] Calvini *Opera*, vol. xiv. 1750 (à Lasco to Bullinger: Lond. 7 June, 1553). Cf. Kuyper, *ut sup.*, vol. ii. 1. *Forma ac Ratio tota Ecclesiastici Ministerii, in Peregrinorum, potissimum vero Germanorum Ecclesia, instituta Londini in Anglia:* Frankfort, 1555.

[26] M'Crie, *Reformation in Spain:* Edin. 1829, pp. 365 ff. Cf. p. 120, *ante*, where "Signore Fiorenzio" may be identical with Florio.

refugees from Tuscany, Genoa, Milan, the Venetian territory and Istria, including some Spaniards.

An Italian Church was therefore constituted in the course of the year 1551, by the assiduity of Cranmer and Cecil, and placed, along with the two preceding churches, under the superintendence of à Lasco. Its members enjoyed the same privileges as the Flemings and Walloons; that is to say, they were independent of the English parishes, and exempt from ecclesiastical dues, but had to furnish by assessment a salary for their pastor. "The Italian service," says Cantù, "was held in a church dedicated to St. Cecilia;" but we suspect that this learned writer has too hastily confounded St. Cecilia, patroness of musicians, with Sir William Cecil, patron of the Protestant refugees. It appears that, outdoing even Ochino, Florio thundered against the "Antichrist whose seat was at Rome," and moreover did not carry matters well with those of his flock who were weak in their new faith; for in the course of the year 1552, fourteen of them went back to the Mass, and refused to contribute to his salary. The irascible Florentine, in place of winning them back by mildness, denounced them to the severity of the magistrate as apostates, in a letter to Sir William Cecil, in which he invokes against them the laws of Moses and those of England.[27]

Never was the word of Jesus Christ, "With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged," better verified than in the case of Florio; for, in the month of January of the following year, having committed a scandalous sin, he was deprived by the Privy Council, expelled from the house of Sir William Cecil, his protector, and driven to invoke in his own favour the examples of clemency in the Old and New Testaments which he ought to have recollected in dealing with his dissentient parishioners.[28] It was at this juncture that, out of

[27] Strype, *Cranmer's Memorials*, vol. iii. app. 52.

[28] *Ibid.*, app. 53, 54.

spite, he sought to sow in the Strangers' Church the dogmatic divisions which we shall examine in a subsequent paragraph. He ended by regaining the favour of the Secretary of State and the Archbishop of Canterbury; and composed later on, doubtless after his retirement to the Val Tellina, that very rare book entitled, *Historia de la Vita e de la Morte de l'illustrissima signora Giovanna Graïa, gia Regina eletta d'Inghilterra* (1607).[29]

The Italian Church, like the two elder branches of the *Peregrinorum Ecclesia*, was dispersed in September 1553, a little after the triumph of Bloody Mary over the innocent Jane Grey: as for the Spanish Church, it was not separately organised until the reign of Elizabeth.

There were, in the reign of Edward VI., other churches of refugees outside of London, including the one at Canterbury (1547), which held its services in the crypt of the cathedral.[30] The one at Glastonbury in Somersetshire, founded under the auspices of the Duke of Somerset and the superintendence of Valérand Poullain, deserves a special mention, because it was composed of Flemish and Walloon weavers, who imported into the West of England the manufacture of broadcloth and blankets.[31]

It was in the bosom of the Strangers' Church at London that the Unitarians, whose tendencies had hitherto been disconnected, and mixed up with Anabaptism, formulated for the first time a clear and definite programme. In Hooper's letter of 25 June, 1549, which we have quoted in

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[29] [Also an *Apologia . . . ne la quale si tratta de la vera e falsa chiesa, de l'essere e qualita de la messa . . . scritta contro a un heretico* (1557)].

[30] [This still exists, under the pastorate of the Rev. J. Martin. It employs in its services the English Prayer-book, translated into French. The disposition of its endowments was recently revised, under the friendly supervision of the late Archbishop Tait.]

[31] Strype, *Eccles. Memorials*, vol. ii. part i. (1547). Cf. *Cranmer's Memorials*, vol. ii. app. 55 to 57.

Chapter III., p. 64, there was no idea but of "libertines and wretches, who are daring enough" to deny the Messiahship of Jesus, and to call him a deceiver. Two years afterwards, Microen writes also to Bullinger, respecting "pseudo-evangelical" sectaries, whom he expressly distinguishes from the foregoing. The phenomenon is of sufficient importance to lead us to quote an extract from his letter (14 Aug. 1551):

"In addition to the ancient errors respecting pædobaptism, the incarnation of Christ, etc., new ones are rising up every day, with which we have to contend. The chief opponents, however, of the divinity of Jesus Christ are the Arians, who are now beginning to shake our churches with greater violence than ever, as they deny the conception of Christ by the Virgin.

"Their principal arguments may be reduced under three heads: The first is respecting the Unity of God, as declared throughout all the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testaments; and that the doctrine, as well as the name, of the Trinity is a novel invention, as not being mentioned in any passage of Scripture.

"Their next argument is this: the Scripture, they say, which everywhere acknowledges one God, admits and professes that this one God is the Father alone (John xvii. 3), who is also called the one God by Paul (1 Cor. viii. 6).

"Lastly, they so pervert the passages which seem to establish the divinity of Christ, as to say that none of them refer intrinsically to Christ himself, but that he has received all from another, namely, from the Father (John v. 19; Matt. xxviii. 18): and they say that God cannot receive from God, and that Christ was only in this respect superior to any of mankind, that he received more gifts from God the Father."[32]

We here retrace, in a form more condensed and more systematic, many of the objections against the Trinity which we saw raised by the Anabaptist Herman van Flekwijk in

[32] *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letter 265 (Microen to Bullinger). See Appendix VIII.

his curious dialogue with the Inquisitor of Bruges (1569). Now, since this appearance of the Unitarians in London is eighteen years earlier, and since they allowed pædobaptism,[33] it is impossible to assign to the phenomenon an Anabaptist origin. It is more likely that the two Antitrinitarian parties, on either side of the North Sea, borrowed their weapons from the same arsenal, that is to say, from the *Annotations on the New Testament* of the arch-heretic Erasmus.

Microen does not mention the names of those who combatted with the above arguments the received dogmata of the Trinity and the divinity of Jesus Christ. He only says that John à Lasco helped him to refute them, and that he found in Bullinger's *Decade* upon this subject "little or nothing which may be satisfactorily brought against them," and he asks the aid of Bullinger's enlightenment. Who could these "Arians" have been, who shook the Strangers' Church by "denying the conception of Christ by the Virgin"?

The date of the execution of Georg Van Parris (25 April, 1551), and the fact that he was a member of the Strangers' Church, turn our thoughts to him. He was in truth an able physician, conspicuous for his temperate habits, who might, by his practical virtues, have suggested to Microen the term "pseudo-evangelical," with which he asperses these Antitrinitarians. It is well known that he was tried by a Royal Commission, and burned at Smithfield;[34] but the fact that he attacked pædobaptism is sufficient to exclude him from the Neo-Arians or Unitarians who allowed it.

He was not, however, the only one who shared these ideas; and the stir raised about the name of Michel-Angelo Florio, the second pastor of the Italian Church, leads us to examine his opinions. We have valuable documents for this purpose, consisting of a letter from Calvin to the French

[33] [This seems a somewhat doubtful inference from Microen's statement.]

[34] Strype, *Cranmer's Memorials*, vol. i. book ii. (1548).

Church at London (27 September, 1552), and another from à Lasco to Bullinger (7 June, 1553). In these two letters a personage is dealt with, who shows himself more Calvinistic than Calvin, and who, sheltering himself under the authority of the Reformer of Geneva, criticises the liturgical rites and formularies of the Strangers' Church, including the title "Mother of God" given to the Virgin Mary, and the prayers for the Bishop of Rome. A Lasco, on his part, says that the disturber, when excluded from the ministry because of a scandal against morals, reproached one of his colleagues with having said (1) that Adam's sin was not sufficient to entail the condemnation of the human race; (2) that it is possible to be saved without having a knowledge of the Lord Jesus; and above all, for having taught (3) a theory of predestination differing from that of Calvin.[35] If we compare these allusions with the facts that, four years later, Ochino was accused by the churches in the Val Tellina of having depreciated the work of Christ, and that Florio, then pastor at Soglio, thought it his duty to denounce him to Peter Martyr, we shall come to the conclusion that already in 1552 the allusion was to a discussion between Ochino and Florio.[36] But Florio does not seem to have been suspected of Antitrinitarian tendencies. There is still Ochino himself. Undoubtedly, in his works of this epoch, there are as yet no objections brought, even indirectly, against the doctrine of the Trinity. But from his whole theory of redemption by the grace of God—"who has attached acceptableness to the merits of Jesus Christ"—and from his very silence on the Trinity dogma, the inference is, that he leaned already towards what was afterwards known as the Socinian theory of expiation, and of the subordination of Jesus Christ to God the Father. If, then, he did not openly fight against the deity

[35] Calvini *Opera, ut sup.*, vol. xiv. 1653, 1750.

[36] Benrath, *Ochino*, p. 241.

of Christ and the personality of the Holy Spirit, he at least undermined the dogma of the Trinity by his presentation of Arianism.

Three months after à Lasco's letter, namely, in September 1553, the Strangers' Church was dispersed by the storm of the Catholic reaction under Mary Tudor; a portion of it, after having vainly asked asylum from King Christiern of Denmark, finished its maritime exodus by returning to Emden, its original point of departure.[37]

The wanderings in exile of the members of the Strangers' Church of London lasted five or six years, during which they were dispersed along the banks of the Rhine and as far as Switzerland, fraternising with the most eminent members of the English episcopate, in exile like themselves. It was during this period, as we have seen, that the two tendencies of the English Church, the Episcopal and the Puritan tendency, assumed definite shape. As soon as the accession of Elizabeth to the throne of England had given courage to evangelical Protestants, the Flemings and Dutch once more assembled in London, and addressed petitions to the Queen for the restitution of the church in Austin Friars, and for the confirmation of the charter of Edward VI. They were already (1559) the most numerous of the foreigners, and counted some six or seven hundred families, in various parts of England.[38] The year following (1560) the Queen, by sign-manual, allowed them once more the use of Austin

[37] *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letters 182 and 240, *n*. A Lasco embarked at Gravesend on 15 Sept. 1553, with 175 members of his flock, resolved to follow their pastor. Their vessel entered the port of Elsinore in Denmark. The Danish king accorded them a favourable audience, but, warped by his chaplain Noviomagus, an ultra-Lutheran, finally declared that he would rather harbour Papists than them; so they were forced to re-embark, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season. See J. Utenhove, *ut sup.*

[38] Greg. Leti, *ut sup.*, vol. i. 323.

Friars, which she had cleaned and fitted up at her own expense, "so as no rite nor use be therein observed contrary or derogatory to our laws." In 1567, in consequence of complaints of some members of the congregation, the privileges of the Strangers' Church were confirmed anew;[39] and, in 1573, an Order in Council gave this valuable authorisation to its governing body:

"We are not ignorant that, from the beginning of the Christian religion, various churches always had various and diverse rites and ceremonies; and yet piety and religion is the same, if prayer be truly directed, and to the true God, and impiety and superstition, &c. be absent. We do not despise your rites, nor compel you to ours; and we approve your ceremonies, as fit and convenient for you and your nationality (*res publica*) whence ye are sprung."[40]

Notwithstanding all these declarations, whether from the bishops' jealousy, or from distrust on the part of the Government, which feared the influence of an autonomous body politic, the Strangers' Church lost at this time its supreme guarantee of independence. It no longer had a Superintendent of its own, but was subjected to the superintendence of the Bishop of London. It is true that, for the moment, it had no vexations to fear from this quarter, for the jealous Ridley had been succeeded by the liberal and conciliatory Grindal, the friend of Peter Martyr and Girolamo Zanchi.[41]

If the *Ecclesia Peregrinorum* lost its *caput proprium*, on the other hand it was augmented by an additional branch, having its own distinct organisation, creed and services, the Spanish Church (1560). The refugees from that country had, in fact, for more than a year (beginning in 1558) celebrated their worship in a private house, a circumstance which gave occasion to vexatious comments, including a

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[39] Collier, *ut sup.*, vol. vi. 443. [40] *Theol. Review*, Jan. 1876.

[41] Strype, *Grindal's Life*, book i. chap. v. 61 ff.

suspicion on the part of their Catholic fellow-countrymen that they met to conspire against the King of Spain. Accordingly their pastor, the learned Cassiodoro de Reyna (Reinius), addressed a strongly-argued request to the Bishop of London and to the Secretary of State, William Cecil, for authority to celebrate their worship in public.[42] His successor was Cipriano de Valera; and, eight years later, in 1568, we find a certain Antonio de Corro (Corranus) of Seville, surnamed Bellerive, formerly pastor at Antwerp, head of the Spanish Church in London, stirring up a controversy. He became divinity reader at the Temple and at Oxford; and died canon of St. Paul's, at London, in 1591.

In 1560 appeared the *Confession de Fe Christiana* (preface dated 4 Jan. 1559, i.e. 1560) of these Spanish Christians (*hecha por ciertos fieles españoles*). They counted a membership of about sixty, among whom may be mentioned the names of the "señores," Baron, M. de Questa, Marco de la Palma, and, above all, the celebrated Adriano de Sarravia, born at Hesdin (Flanders), collaborator with Guy de Brez in the Confession of Faith of the Walloon churches in the Low Countries, who became professor of theology at Cambridge, after having been at Leiden, 1597.[43]

The Italian Church, however, was re-constituted by the exertions of Sir William Cecil, in whose house it had long assembled. It comprised a select body of jurisconsults,

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[42] Strype, *Grindal's Life*, pp. 69, 71. Cf. Droin, *Réformation en Espagne*, vol. ii. 156—160. [Respecting Cassiodoro de Reyna and his undisguised admiration for Servetus, especially the story of his kissing one of the books of Servetus, and saying "that he never rightly knew God till he had that book, and that Servetus had alone understood the mystery of the Trinity," see Tollin, in the *Bulletin Historique et Litteraire* of the *Soc. de l'Hist. du Protestantisme Français*, 15 Sept. 1882; 15 June and 15 July, 1883.]

[43] M'Crie, *Reformation in Spain*, p. 370. Cf. Brandt, *ut sup.*, art. *Sarravia.*

engineers and physicians, among whom must be mentioned Giacomo Contio (Acontius), military engineer, and his friend Giovanni Battista Castiglione, the Queen's Italian tutor; the doctors, Andrea, of Rome, and Giulio Borgarucci, physician to the Earl of Leicester; the two Gentili, Alberico and Scipione, sons of Matteo Gentile, a physician of Ancona, who were jurisconsults of the first class. Girolamo Jerlito had succeeded, as minister to the Italians, to Florio, who had returned after the death of Mary Tudor, but who had not been reinstated by the Bishop of London, on account of his irascible and vindictive character.[44]

Finally, the two sections, Flemish and Walloon, had returned in greater numbers than before. Instead of two ministers a-piece, they now had three. The Walloons had as ministers Jean Cousin, Antoine de Ponchell and Pierre Chastellain; and the Flemings, Pieter Deloen (son of Wouter), Govert Wyngins and Cornelis Adriaans or Adriaanszoon van Hamstede. We shall see the last-named taking an important part in the controversies relating to the humanity of Jesus Christ.[45]

Such was the position of the Strangers' Church in London. In the provinces, the Netherlanders formed eleven churches, many of which consisted of two branches, the Flemish and the Walloon—for example, at Canterbury, Colchester, Maidstone, Sandwich, Southampton, Norwich, &c. The Walloon Church in Norwich assembled at first in the chapel adjoining the episcopal palace; afterwards, owing to the bishop's illiberality, it had to change to the church of Little St. Mary. It was in this Walloon Church at Norwich that the Martineaus, those ornaments of English Unitarianism, were nurtured. Accordingly, Lord Chancellor Eldon formally stipulated that

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[44] M'Crie, *Reformation in Spain*, pp. 365—368. Cf. Galiffe, *ut sup.*, p. 92.

[45] Strype, *Grindal's Life*, p. 199.

it should, for the future, never be let to any sect whatever which denied the Trinity.[46]

But no human precaution or barrier can hold its ground before the expansion of the human intellect and the search for divine truth. Neither the Confession of Faith imposed by John à Lasco, nor the vigilant control of Bishop Grindal, could prevent the ancient Antitrinitarian controversy from being re-opened in the new church. Only, this time, the question presented itself in another shape; it arose out of the action of some refugees from the Low Countries who had commissioned their countryman Hamstede to present to the bishop a petition demanding the free exercise of their worship. Grindal, recollecting the case of Van Parris, surmised them to be Anabaptists, and, as the petition was not signed, suspected Hamstede of sharing these ideas. The Flemish minister strenuously repudiated having attacked pædobaptism or the supernatural conception;[47] but he disputed the propriety of refusing to the Anabaptists the title of Christian on the ground of their denying these two dogmata, "*which*," said he, "*are not fundamental articles of the Christian faith, since they cannot be proved by the Scripture.*" Hamstede declared that directly they admitted that Jesus Christ died and rose again for the remission of their sins, they believed in the true Redeemer. Throughout this discussion, Hamstede found a stout supporter in Giacomo Contio (Acontius), the most eminent member of the Italian Church. Both were cited before the Bishop of London and excommunicated (Hamstede in November, 1560, Acontius on 29 April, 1561), along with their adherents, who were numerous. A year later, 31 July, 1562, Hamstede was

[46] Greg. Leti, *ut sup.*, vol. i. 325 ff. Cf. *Theol. Review*, Jan. 1876, Gordon on *Hook's Laud.*

[47] [They were not accused of attacking the supernatural conception, but of pressing its supernatural character to the extent of denying that Christ took flesh of the Virgin.]

summoned to retract, which he would not do; Acontius also held firmly to his opinion, and went so far as to develope, in an admirable book, the idea, essentially Unitarian, that all dogmata which are not instrumental to eternal life must be dropped from the list of fundamentals.[48]

There were, furthermore, two other controversies in the Strangers' Church; that of Justus Velsius from the Hague (1563), of which we have spoken in Chapter II. (p. 50, note 18); and that of Antonio de Corro (Corranus) with Jean Cousin and Girolamo Jerlito, on predestination and free-will, which is beyond the field of our discussion.[49] The Unitarian idea, planted by Ochino and watered by the blood of Georg Van Parris, was about to be developed by Acontius, and above all by the genius of the Sozzini.

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[48] Strype, *Grindal's Life*, pp. 64, 66. Cf. app. 52. See Appendix IX.

[49] *Ibid.* pp. 185—187, 217—222. Cf. Chr. Sepp. *Geschiedkundige Nasporingen*, vol. iii., *Corranus, dit Bellerive, een "moderaet" Theoloog*, Leyden, 1875.

CHAPTER VII.

Bernardino Ochino, his religious development, and his influence on English theology.—Corranus.

"All will be easy to me in Christ,
For whom I live and hope to die!"

A GRAND figure is that of Fra Bernardino Ochino, the grandest, perhaps, that had appeared in Italy since Savonarola. He must indeed have been a man of more than ordinary gifts of oratory, personal character and intellectual power, to have inspired the two-fold testimony of his contemporaries, both Catholic and Protestant. Passing over the witness of Aonio Paleario, who might be suspected of partiality from his relations of fellow-citizenship and friendship with Ochino, mark what Cardinal Bembo wrote of him to Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescaro, the year when he preached his second Lent course at Venice (1539): "Ochino is literally adored at Venice. Every one praises him to the skies." We have cited above the saying of Charles V.[1] Mark now the testimony of Calvin: "This testimony to the pious and holy man I feel it my duty to render, that he may be saved from incurring the slightest unmerited suspicion. For he is a man of eminent learning, and his manner of life is exemplary."[2] But for the Inquisition of 1542, he might have become the Luther of Italy; as it was, Ochino rendered to Switzerland and to England the

[1] *Lettere di M. Pietro Bembo:* Venezia, 1522; quoted by Benrath, p. 18. Cf. M'Crie, *Reformation in Italy*, p. 125. See *ante*, p. 74.

[2] Calvini *Opera*, vol. xxxix. 462.

service which Servetus rendered to France and Italy. He compelled Protestant dogmatics to emerge from the Catholic formulæ in which they were entrenched, and opened the way for the free development of a more human Christology, and a theodicy (divine polity) at once more rational and appealing more directly to the heart. Ochino, the Italian, was to England what Servetus, the Spaniard, had been to Italy, the initiator of the Unitarian movement. As we have already encountered Ochino at various stages of his career, we shall do no more than rapidly mention in order the principal episodes of his life.[3]

Born at Siena, the home of St. Catherine, in 1487, four years after Luther and twenty-two years before Calvin, Bernardino, son of Domenico Tommasini, a resident in the *contrada dell'oca*, received the surname of Ochino (gosling), which in Italian has the same meaning as Hus (goose) in Czech. He was ten years old when Girolamo Savonarola delivered at Florence his prophetic discourses on the freedom of Italy and the reform of the Church; and if but an echo of these, at any rate the noise of Savonarola's catastrophe must have reached Siena, situated fifteen leagues from Florence, and in constant relations with it. Yet political anarchy and the disorders of the Roman Church ran their course, scandalised all good men. Such times of public calamity evoke the call to a religious life. Like Luther, like Savonarola, Ochino, with his ardent temperament and passion for divine truth, was soon sick of life in an age when elegance of manners and literary distinction served as masks for the most shameful vices; and in 1514,[4] at the age of twenty-

[3] For the details of this biography, we must refer the reader to the work by Dr. Benrath of Bonn, entitled, *Bernardino von Siena:* Leipzig, 1875. This work, in which the author has made use of inedited and previously unknown sources, calls Ochino to life again. Our quotations are from Miss Helen Zimmern's English translation, 1876 (portrait).

[4] [This conjectural date seems several years too late.]

seven, he entered the Franciscan convent of the Osservanza, near to Siena. What he there sought was the way of gaining his own salvation, by efforts of abnegation and humility. Having encountered there only pride and sensuality, twenty years later he went over (1534—1542) to the Order of Capuchin Friars, recently founded by Matteo Baschi, a Franciscan. Like Luther, Ochino said then to himself, "The more I do pious works, the nearer shall I be to heaven;" and still he was ever disquieted by his conscience and deceived in his aspirations. Nevertheless, the twenty-eight years of his life under the rule of St. Francis were not without service to Ochino, and even after his conversion he never regretted them. If the conventual life did not lead him to the real source of salvation, at least it carefully preserved him from the world's temptations; and it brought him into relations with two men, one dead, the other living, who exercised a decisive influence over his mind, Duns Scotus and Juán de Valdés.

John Duns, called Scotus (d. 8 Nov. 1308), forms along with the mystical Bonaventura and the daring William of Ockham, the triad of illustrious theologians of the Order of St. Francis. From their works it was, rather than from the Bible, that masters and novices drew their spiritual nourishment. But it appears that our author gave the preference to Duns Scotus; for, as Mr. Gordon puts it, Ochino "threw off his Capuchin's garb, but never doffed the Scotist vesture of his thought."[5] The *Doctor Subtilis*, by the importance he attaches to free-will, to human worth, and to the perfection of Christ as man, separated from the rest of humanity through his immaculate conception by the Virgin—lastly, by the limit he assigns to divine predestination in the prescience of

[5] *Theological Review*, July 1879, p. 293. See also A. Gordon's article (Oct. 1876) on *Bernardino Tommasini (Ochino)*. This article, written in review of Dr. Benrath's book, gives some particulars as to English translations of Ochino's works.

human actions, appears as the spiritual father of the author of the *Prediche.* But it is, above all, by his critical and analytical method, by his *hæcceitates* and his *quiddítates*, that the scholastic doctor of Oxford has stamped his mark on one who, by a curious return journey of ideas, was to become, two and a half centuries later, the awakener of theological thought in this same England.

Besides this, the general tendency of the Franciscans, whether Cordeliers or Capuchins, was in Ochino's time singularly evangelical. We have already remarked, while treating of the earliest relations between Italy and Switzerland, how earnestly the members of this Order sighed for the "bread of life" which is in the word of God; *e.g.* Baldo Lupetino, Beccaria and Benedetto of Locarno, Francesco Lismanini, &c.[6] This tendency was unquestionably due to the blessed task, imposed on them by their founder, of preaching repentance and the gospel of forgiveness to the people. Our author by no means escaped this influence; in his mission preachings he speedily developed a talent for oratory, all the more efficacious with his hearers, as his life accorded with his word, and his outward man was but the genuine expression of the attitude of his soul. He was never seen to go otherwise than on foot, staff in hand, clothed in a woollen frock; he slept on a plank bed, and eat only bread and vegetables. His visage pale and wasted, his whitening hair, his snowy beard, which descended to his breast, all proclaimed him an ascetic, a worthy emulator of St. Benedict; while his gleaming eyes, upturned to heaven, revealed the sacred fire which burned in his heart.[7] He was at that time the

[6] See Chapter V. p. 106, note 34.

[7] See the fine portrait of Ochino prefixed to Dr. Benrath's book. [This portrait is in profile, and represents Ochino as a capuchin. For a front-face likeness of Ochino as a Protestant minister, see the Paris reprint (1878) of the old French version of his *Dialogue on Purgatory*, where also will be found a brief but admirable memoir.]

most docile, the most humble servant of the Roman Church, which he believed infallible; nay, historians have even made him, in error, the confessor of Pope Paolo III.

And yet this was the man whom Providence destined as the herald of the gospel of love and of free inquiry, in Italy, and subsequently throughout Europe. Juán de Valdés was the instrument of Ochino's conversion to the evangelical doctrines. In 1536, Ochino preached his first Lent course at Naples, in S. Giovanni Maggiore. There were in his congregation there two men who were amazed at his talent. One of these, Charles V., was destined, ten years later, to demand his head from the magistrates of Augsburg, as that of a man dangerous to the Church. The other, who was in the court of the viceroy, Don Pedro de Toledo, was destined, on the contrary, to lead him captive to the foot of the cross of Jesus Christ. It is easy to imagine the brightness that was sure to flash from the contact of these two choice natures,—Valdés, a tender and chivalrous soul, a hero in courage, almost a woman in gentleness,—Ochino, that volcanic spirit, ever seething within, and on the verge of eruption. Force was taken captive by gentleness: introduced to the intimate circle of Valdés, Ochino experienced, in the society of women who were as virtuous as they were beautiful and learned, the sweetness of those familiar talks, in which the one favourite topic was salvation through the love of God and the merits of Christ; he read that golden book of the Italian Reformation, entitled *Del Benefizio di Gesù Cristo crocefisso*,[8] and he was transformed. From that time he did not cease to speak out as he believed; each day he asked his lay confessor for a subject for his sermon of the morrow; and we find in his *Prediche* published at Venice, just as in

[8] Written in Sicily by Benedetto of Mantua, a Benedictine monk, and edited by Marcantonio Flaminio.

those subsequently published at Geneva, reminiscences of the *CX. Considerations* of Valdés.[9]

What Valdés wished, was not to reform the Church by outward and general measures, but to reform men, the inner tribunal: to ecclesiastical forms he attached little importance. In this respect he was the direct heir of the reforming mystics of the fifteenth century, Thomas à Kempis, Gansfort, Geiler of Keisersberg, and others. Strict Calvinists have not forgiven him for continuing to frequent the churches, attend mass, and take part "with the Papist community, in divers idolatries."[10] What does this prove but that Valdés had not the revolutionary temperament, and that he thought, with many of the wise of his time, that it was better to stay in the Church with the purpose of transforming it, than to leave it in order to fight against it?

Ochino followed this example. During the six years that he was appointed to preach the Advent courses at Siena and Modena, and the Lent courses at Naples and Venice, he had the talent, or let us rather say the infinite patience, to preach salvation through Christ, while yet putting up with the invocation of Saints and of the Virgin, and the thousand puerile practices of the Roman cult. However, little by little he dropped out of sight the merit of works, the intervention of saints; he went so far as to say, "Christ has done enough for his elect, and has gained Paradise for them."[11] Above all, he insisted on the grace of God towards us, and

[9] Compare Part iv. of the *Prediche* (Basel, 1555) with the *Benefizio*, capp. i. iv., and with the *Considerazioni*, i. and xiii. Mark the analogy between this mystical influence of Valdés on Ochino and the conversion of Tauler by the great "Friend of God" in the Oberland." See Jundt, *Les Amis de Dieu:* Strassburg, 1879, p. 115.

[10] See Balbani, *Vie du Marquis Galeace Caracciolo.* Cf. Droin, *Réforme en Espagne*, vol. ii. 75—90.

[11] See his letter to Girolamo Muzio of Capo d'Istria.

the love we owe to Him. Mysticism was the chrysalis in which he wrapped his thought until its wings were formed, and it had strength to burst freely into the light of day. This day arrived when, towards the middle of August, 1542, he received from Cardinal Caraffa a summons to appear before the tribunal of the Inquisition, just then instituted. Three courses now presented themselves to him: to make open profession of his evangelical faith, and perish like Savonarola; to submit himself to the judgment of the Church by abjuring his beliefs; lastly, to flee far from that Italy which almost adored him as a divine being, and which he, for his part, loved as a mother. We can imagine what conflicts must have raged in his soul; he did not feel himself ripe for martyrdom; had he been pastor of a congregation that looked up to him as its spiritual head, he might perhaps, as he avowed later on, have thought it his duty to give his life as a good shepherd for his sheep. How could he possibly abjure, without lying to his conscience, without renouncing all he had preached for six years with the applause of a whole nation, salvation through Christ alone? How bend the knee before that hierarchy, with whom vows were but the mask for ambition and for adultery?

He had had interviews with Cardinals Morone and Contarini, already suspected of Lutheranism; he had met Peter Martyr, his old friend of Naples, himself likewise summoned before the chapter of his Order at Genoa. Ochino resolved to escape by flight the alternative of death or disgrace, and to seek liberty in exile. After having written farewell letters to his two noble friends, Vittoria Colonna and Caterina Cibo, and taken leave of the Duchess of Ferrara, Ochino shaped his course towards Chiavenna; passed on to the house of Bullinger at Zürich, where he missed Vermigli by a day; and arrived at Geneva towards the middle of September, 1542.[12]

[12] Calvini *Opera, ut sup.*, vol. xi. 426, Letter from Calvin to Viret. Cf. p. 438, Letter from Bullinger to Vadian, already quoted.

We need not revert to the part filled by Ochino at Geneva as first pastor of the Italian Church; but we must indicate in this place the state of his opinions about that time, on the two or three points which interest us,—the Trinity, Redemption, and the Person of the Redeemer.

The fruitful idea which dominates his whole theology is, that God is Love; it is through love that He created us in His own image, and it is also through love that He resolved to save us, at the price of His unique and well-beloved Son. This God is unique, eternal, necessary, infinite and immutable. As Father He is uncreate, but He has procreated the Son, and has endowed him with all perfections. The Father and the Son, by the exertion of their wills, have in their turn produced the Holy Spirit, and have endowed him also with every perfection. Thus the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, are one in substance, in person several.[13]

As regards redemption, Ochino explains it in accordance with Anselm's theory of the "vicarious satisfaction through the merits of Jesus Christ;" and admits, with St. Paul, that we are justified solely by faith, independently of works. Under the influence of Calvin and of Vermigli, he went so far as to say that man cannot do the least thing for his own salvation. But already we feel that, with him, the primal cause of redemption is the infinite love of God for His creature, not the satisfaction rendered to His justice; and that the indispensable condition of the realisation of the Divine plan is living faith, produced in man by the Holy Spirit.[14] Ochino, after the example of the *Beneficio*, compares the effects of the union of the soul with Jesus to the fruits of marriage. But it seems to us that in Ochino's soteriology the person of Christ is eclipsed by the Holy Spirit; it is the Spirit that should be the supreme rule of our life; it is this

[13] *Dialogi Sette*, dial. i., analysed by Benrath, p. 75.

[14] *Prediche*, part i. sermon 1, analysed by Benrath, p. 155.

inner voice we must obey rather than men and angels, rather than our own wisdom, rather even than the literal words of Jesus. Here we recognise the preponderance of the mystical principle inherited from Valdés.[15]

This brief sketch of Ochino's ideas at that time makes it intelligible that, when he left Geneva in the middle of August, 1545, Calvin furnished him with the certificate of orthodoxy to be found in his letters to Pellican and Myconius. But this complete accord was not to last long.

During his first visit to Basel, in the latter half of August, 1545, Ochino met the man whose influence on his mind was to counterbalance that of Calvin, and who was to become, as translator of his works into Latin, the accomplice of his daring flights of criticism. This was Sebastian Castellio. The Savoyard schoolmaster had quitted Geneva in the previous year, he having been unjustly refused an appointment to the pastoral office, to which he was entitled by his knowledge of the Scriptures and the purity of his morals. The reason was, that he could not subscribe to Calvin's opinion in regard to the mystical sense of the book of Canticles, and the descent of Jesus Christ into hell. At Basel, Castellio made a very wretched living to begin with, by giving private lessons and correcting the press; but his merit having become recognised, he was called to the chair of Greek Literature in the University, which he filled until his death (1562—Dec. 1563). Translator of the Bible, and eminent as a critic, Castellio opposed the opinion of Calvin respecting predestination and free-will. The purpose of doctrines, said he, is to make men better. Those, then, which do not contribute to this result, should be discarded as calamitous. Such, in his eyes, were the doctrines of the Trinity and of predestination. A mind so broad and practical was sure to delight Ochino, who was doubtless introduced to him by his

[15] *Prediche*, part ii. sermon 50; Benrath, p. 165.

countryman, Curione.[16] Ochino was but passing through Basel on his way to Strassburg when he again met Peter Martyr, and made the acquaintance of Bucer, with whom he had already corresponded on the subject of the Eucharistic controversy.[17]

Called to Augsburg through the influence of Xystus Betulejus, the learned editor of Lactantius, and placed by the municipal council as pastor (Oct. 1545—Jan. 1547) over the Italian Church in that city, which had a considerable membership, Ochino there married a French lady, whom he had known at Geneva, and contracted a close friendship with Francesco Stancaro of Mantua, and with his co-presbyter Wolfgang Musculus, minister of the German Church.[18] The sixteen months of his stay in Augsburg were not barren of exegetical and hortatory works. There it was that he published, for example, his *Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans* and his *Sermons on the Epistle to the Galatians*, as well as three curious treatises which have only been preserved to us in German, viz. a *Prayer*, in which is contained the whole doctrine of salvation,[19] a *Dialogue of the Carnal Reason and a Spiritual Christian*, and lastly, a brilliant treatise *On the Hope of a Christian Heart.*

Driven from Augsburg by the victorious Charles V. (23 January, 1547), Ochino passed through Constanz and Zürich, and took refuge at Basel, where he spent the remainder of the year, enjoying the society of Castellio and Curione, and superintending the printing of the second edition of the first

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[16] Lichtenberger's *Encyclopédie*, art. *Castalion*, by Henri Lutteroth. Cf. Lecky, *ut sup.*, vol. ii. 44—49.

[17] Calvini *Opera*, vol. ix. 689, Letter from Bucer to Calvin.

[18] Schelhorn, *Ergötzlichkeiten*, Ulm, 1763, vols. v. and vi., pieces 9, 10, 11 and 12.

[19] [This exists also in Italian, and is printed with the *Prediche.*]

part of the *Prediche*, and the first edition of the second part.[20]

Our rapid narrative of this phase of his career proves an *alibi* to the story that Ochino took part in the Vicenza conferences of 1546, as Christoph Sand pretends in his *Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum*. Though he carried ever his beautiful Italy in his heart—it was for her he wrote his *Prediche*, as Vergerio his pamphlets—he turned still northward his wandering steps. The invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury found him at Basel, where Peter Martyr had rejoined him; and on 4 November, 1547, he set out for England, furnished with a letter of introduction from Curione to Sir John Cheke, the preceptor of Edward VI.[21]

Ochino's long residence in London (December 1547—August 1553), to which we shall recur presently, does not seem to have produced any appreciable development of his thought. While this phase lasted, Ochino took in more than he gave out. At least the development of his ideas cannot be detected either in his celebrated *Tragœdie* dedicated to Edward VI., a sort of satirical dialogue between Satan and Christ, Bonifacio VIII. and Henry VIII., on the grandeur and decadence of the Papacy; or in the third part of his *Prediche*, which appeared at Basel in 1551. We will draw attention, however, to a passage which seems to us to possess a Unitarian tint: "Even the soul of Christ, before Thou hadst created it, was not in itself worthy of the treasures with which Thou, in Thy mere grace, hast endowed it. Thou didst not endow Christ thus on account of his virtuous life, but it is because Thou hast thus endowed him that he led a life holy and worthy Thee. What shall I say more? In Christ Thou hast given us all things, even Thyself, and that

[20] Calvini *Opera*, vol. xl., Letter from Calvin to Musculus (25 April, 1547); cf. Benrath, p. 182.

[21] Cœlii Secundi Curionis *Epistolæ*, lib. ii. 287.

is why I have the assurance that Thou wishest to save me."[22]

There is here an evident tendency to subordinate the person and work of the Son to the sovereign action of the Father. It appears that Ochino took part with Vermigli, Cranmer and Melanchthon in the compilation of the Prayer Book.[23] But what occupied him more than anything else at that time was the question of predestination and free-will, to which he had already devoted fourteen of his *Prediche*. It seems that after reading them, the princess Elizabeth, then eighteen years of age, wished to confer with him, and astonished the veteran dialectician by the penetration of her thought.[24] However, the idea of God's love embracing all His creatures, and that of an invisible and universal Church welcoming all children of the Spirit, were always preponderant in Ochino's religious consciousness. Never did he sacrifice God's love to His prescience of human sin.

It is in Switzerland that we shall witness the production of the capital development of Ochino's thought. He arrived at Geneva, it is said, on the morrow of the execution (27 Oct. 1553) of Michael Servetus, the first illustrious victim of the Unitarian cause, and he did not conceal his disapprobation of such a cruelty, a course which rendered him unpopular with Calvin's hangers-on.[25] While here he published his *Apologhi*, or five satires on the abuses and errors of the Popish Synagogue, 1554, dedicated to Sir Richard Morison, one of the English gentry who had quitted England on the accession of Mary Tudor. Then, after a flying visit

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[22] *Prediche*, part iii. sermon 30; Benrath, p. 211.

[23] Taine, *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*, vol. ii. 316.

[24] Preface to the *Labyrinths* of Ochino, addressed to Queen Elizabeth: Basel, 1561.

[25] *Contra libellum Calvini, in quo ostendere conatur hæreticos jure gladii coercendos esse*, 1554.

to Chiavenna, he returned to his much-loved Basel, where he spent 1554 and the spring of 1555, and published the fourth part of his *Prediche*. Note should be taken of the fourth sermon in this volume, on the *Image of God in Man*, which presents striking resemblances to the first of the *Considerations* of Valdés, which had just (1550) been published at Basel by Curione, and with the first chapter of the *Beneficio di Gesù Cristo*.[26]

Ochino was then sixty-eight years old. For fifteen years he had travelled over land and sea, driven by armies or by revolutions, battered by tempests and by trials; nevertheless, he had succeeded in creating an inner circle of adherents; in London he had left behind him devoted friends, and at Basel he had others, in whose society the veteran disputant asked nothing more than to spend the remainder of his days in peace. God had decided otherwise. The voice which at Florence had cried unto him, "Leave thy country and thy church to be my witness in the land of the stranger," again made itself heard. In June, 1555, he received the visit of Dr. Martino Muralto and the young Lelio Sozini, who brought him the call to become the pastor of the Locarnese exiles at Zürich.

Whatever his need of repose, Ochino was not long in deciding between his own interest and duty; he accepted the summons of the Italians at Zürich. He did not suspect that, a new Servetus, he was about to encounter another Calvin.[27] Every one recollects how, after an eight years' ministry, the publication of his *Thirty Dialogues* cost him exile at the age of seventy-six, and how, rejected by all the churches, he wandered to an out-of-the-way corner of Moravia, there to die of hunger and sorrow (about December, 1564).

[26] Compare *Beneficio*, cap. i. with *Considerazioni*, No. i., and *Benef.* cap. iv. with *Consid.* No. xiii.

[27] Calvini *Opera*, vol. xv. 2355 (Ochino to Calvin, 4 Dec. 1555).

Bernardino Ochino—and this is what constitutes him a figure so original—exhibits, in epitome, by the sweep of his thought, the whole curve described by Protestant dogmatics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. All the questions that have since been agitated were revolved in his brain; and he threw out a number of heresies which were to be accepted as truths two centuries after his death. We may get an idea of this in a detail of the progress made by his thought, on the two or three points above referred to, between the period of his *Prediche* at Venice and Geneva (1539—1545) and the publication at Zürich of his *Dialogue on Purgatory* (1556), dedicated to Francesco Lismanini (ex-Provincial of the Franciscans or Minorites in Poland, and converted to the gospel by Ochino), and his *Thirty Dialogues* on the Messiah and the Trinity (1563).

Ochino's first breach with traditional orthodoxy was on the question of Redemption. Christ, he says in his *Dialogue on Purgatory*, made satisfaction for all the elect. Not that his work, his life, or his sufferings were in themselves of infinite merit, for he owed all to God, absolute obedience included—but because God, of His infinite grace and love for humanity, determined to confer this expiatory value on the work of Christ.[28]

Here we are very far from Anselm's theory, and much nearer to that of Duns Scotus, who had said that "the works of Christ have an infinite value, not in themselves, but because of mere grace the Father has accepted them for such." This strongly resembles also the Socinian doctrine of expiation.

With respect to the person of Christ, it is true that, in his *Catechism* (1561), he expresses himself almost in the terms

[28] Ochino, *De Purgatorio Dialogus:* Zürich, 1556; translated out of Italian into Latin by Taddeo Duno; and *Dialogi XXX.* (Dial. vi.). Cf. Alex. Schweizer, *Die Protestantischen Centraldogmen:* Zürich, 1854, vol. i. 309. See Appendix X.

of the Calvinistic dogmatic theology; and yet he is careful to mark the subordination of Jesus to his Father, and to insist upon his functions as Priest and Revealer.[29]

It is above all in his *Thirty Dialogues*, dedicated to the Earl of Bedford and Prince Mikolaj Radziwill, that he furthest advances the line of his batteries against the formulas of Trinitarian orthodoxy. The better to veil his attacks, he puts them under the form of dialogue; but the theologians of Zürich were not thus to be deceived, and they scented the author's heresy in the strength of the arguments placed in the mouth of his Antitrinitarian interlocutor. This, for example, is the way in which, in the nineteenth dialogue, the author makes the Spirit of Doubt to speak: "Do you believe that the man Jesus Christ is the Son of God?" Ochino answers, "Yes; first because, as man, he received his existence from God; secondly, because he was conceived in a different manner from us; thirdly, because he participates in the attributes of God." "But," says Doubt, "the Scriptures speak of several sons of God." "Christ," responds Ochino, "is the only begotten Son, in the sense that he alone, of all the elect, is the highest Prophet, Priest and King; that he alone was conceived of the Holy Spirit; that to him alone God has given his Spirit without measure."[30] Here we have a Christology which presents singular analogies with that of Fausto Sozzini.

But the following is weightier still. *Spiritus* (Doubt) asks, "How is it possible to conceive the Trinity of hypos-

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[29] *Il Catechismo, overo Institutione Christiana, di M. Bernardino Ochino da Siena:* Basel, 1561, 8vo, p. 159.

[30] See *Bernardini Ochini Senensis Dialogi XXX.*: Basel, 1563; translated into Latin by Castellio (Dialogue xix. *De Sancta Trinitate*). See Appendix X. [Taken with what follows, the passage amounts to this, that Ochino holds, with the common Catholic christology, that Christ is entitled to the appellation "only begotten Son," in virtue of his humanity as well as of his divinity.]

tases in the Unity of the Divine Being?" "Because," responds the author, "these hypostases correspond with the three functions of the Divine Life, paternity, sonship and spiration; now these three persons are equal and co-eternal." "But," objects Doubt, "the idea of Sonship excludes that of equality, as the idea of proceeding excludes that of co-eternity. Furthermore, Jesus has said, 'The Father is greater than I.' Now if it be conceded that the Son is identical with the Father, it follows that the Father is greater, not only than the Son, but than Himself, which is absurd." To this objection the orthodox interlocutor finds no reply. He contents himself with saying that the Trinity is a subject above our capacity; and that it is better to adore it in silence, without overstepping the limitations which God has imposed on His revelation.[31]

It will now be easy for us to verify the accuracy of the remark of Père Guichard when he says that Bernardino Ochino began in England to "preach a refined Arianism, which awakened the curiosity of lovers of novelty," and that several of his followers were prosecuted.[32] How, in fact, could so ardent a man, whose thought was like a steam-engine at high pressure, and displayed itself at once by word, through the press, and in act, how could he do other than wake up the most lethargic? Ochino became the first agitator of theological thought, which had been slumbering in England since Wiclif and Pecock; and he had two powerful instruments of action at his command, his writings and his disciples.

Ochino spent six years in England, and, according to the

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[31] Dialogue xix. Cf. *Quæstiones Ministrorum Ecclesiarum quæ sunt apud Rhætos* (May, 1561), quoted above, Chap. V. pp. 97, 98.

[32] L. A. Guichard, *ut sup.*, pt. i. chap. xxviii. p. 127. Varillas, in his *Histoire des Hérésies*, book xvii. p. 66, also says that, during his sojourn in London, Ochino secretly promulgated his fancies on the doctrine of the Trinity, which cost him the displeasure of the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector. But his testimony is not always to be depended upon.

testimony of his friends, never had his life been more happy and better employed than during that period. "Bernardino," writes de Enzina, "employs his whole time in writing, and this too with a force and rapidity, as he tells me, beyond what he ever did before."[33] It was in London that he composed in Latin that curious *Tragœdie*, or satire in dialogue against the Papacy, which was translated into English by "Master John Ponet, Doctor of divinitie," afterwards Bishop of Winchester. The printer, John Day, also published *Certayne Sermons* of Ochino, translated into English; among the rest his fourteen sermons on Predestination, which went through several editions.[34] Ochino was intimate with all the distinguished men of England, Sir Richard Morison, the Earl of Bedford, Sir W. Cecil (Lord Burleigh), Cheke, Sir Anthony Cooke, Jewel and Sampson. He was soon received at court, like John à Lasco. It was doubtless from the hand of Ochino that the pious Edward VI. received the manuscript copy of the *Benefizio di Gesù Cristo*, on which he has left his touching epigraph; and from the same hand he accepted the dedication of the *Tragœdie*.[35]

At the restoration of Protestantism under Elizabeth, pressing overtures were made to Ochino to induce him to resume his Canterbury prebend, of which he had been deprived through contumacy.[36] He was held in such esteem by the

[33] *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letter 173 (Dryander to Bullinger).

[34] Mr. Gordon (see *Theol. Rev.* Oct. 1876, art. *Bernardino Tommasini*) had before him an 8vo volume, without date, with the following title: *Sermons of Barnardine Ochyne, concerning the Predestination and Election of God*, translated by A. C. This translation Mr. Gordon attributes to Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke.

[35] *A Tragoedie or Dialoge of the vniuste vsurped primacie of the Bishop of Rome, and of all the iust abolishing of the same, made by Master Barnardine Ochine, an Italian, & translated out of Latine into Englishe by Master John Ponet, Doctor of divinitie*, &c.: London, 1549.

[36] *Zürich Letters*, 1 ser., Letters 16 and 24 (J. Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, to Peter Martyr).

Virgin Queen, that Thomas Sampson wrote (6 January, 1560) to Peter Martyr: "His authority, I know, has very great weight with the queen. Should he at any time be disposed to write to her, to exhort her to persevere with all diligence in the cause of Christ, I can most cordially testify, what I certainly know to be the fact, and assert most confidently, that she is indeed a child of God. But she has yet great need of such advisers as himself. She is acquainted, as you know, with Italian, and also well skilled in Latin and Greek. If anything is written in these languages either by yourself or Master Bernardine, I am quite of opinion that you will not only afford much gratification to her Majesty, but perform a most useful service to the Church of England."[37] Ochino was very ill at Zürich when this letter arrived, and we do not know whether he carried out Sampson's wish. But in the following year he dedicated his *Labyrinths* to Queen Elizabeth, and in the Preface he expresses himself as follows:

"The question whether or not man has a free-will is one of the most difficult, because both the affirmative and the negative are open to the most serious objections. Having observed that a great many authors, in reflecting on these questions, have only lost themselves in the most inextricable difficulties, I have for a long time sought a way of escape. God, at length, has granted me this favour. And, as I very well remember that your Majesty, when I was in England, read some of my treatises on predestination, and that, when you consulted me on this subject, you gave me many proofs of the extent and the penetration of your understanding, as well as of your desire to sound the mysteries of God, I have concluded that you, before all others, ought to gather the fruits of my labour. Such are the reasons that have led me to dedicate this work to you."[38]

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[37] *Zürich Letters*, 1 ser., Letter 27 (Sampson to Peter Martyr).

[38] *Labyrinthi, Hoc est de Libero aut servo Arbitrio, de divina Prænotione, Destinatione, et Libertate Disputatio. Et quonam pacto sit ex iis Labyrinthis exeundum.* Basel, 1561, 8vo.

This royal favour was sure to procure hundreds of readers for Ochino in the ranks of the aristocracy and the clergy, and it was among these that his first disciples were formed. Foremost in their number must be placed his translators; for to translate is not always to betray, as the Italian proverb (*traduttore, traditore*) has it; it is often to enrich one's country with treasures of foreign literature, as we acclimatise beautiful exotics. Moreover, except in the case of paid labour, one only translates what one admires, and the work of translation still further increases the train of sympathy between the author and his interpreter. This was sure to be the case with Dr. John Ponet, the translator of the *Tragœdie*, and that sensible young gentlewoman who translated the *Sermons of Barnardine Ochyne, concerning the Predestination and Election of God*, and piously dedicated them to her mother, Lady F.[39] This young gentlewoman was Anne Cooke, who became the second wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and the mother of the great Bacon. Through this channel the critical spirit of Ochino was sure to communicate itself to the presumed author of the *Christian Paradoxes* (1645).[40]

Still more markedly than these interpreters, did two men of Latin race, one a Spaniard, the other an Italian, become in England the heirs of the humanitarian and latitudinarian tendency of Ochino. These were Corranus and Acontius.

Antonio de Corro (Corranus), called Bellerive, born at Seville in 1527, after having for five years ministered in the churches at Saintonge, had been excluded from pastoral functions by the Synod of Loudun; and, pursued by the hatred of the Spanish Catholics to Antwerp, had been unable

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[39] *Theol. Rev.* Oct. 1876. Cf. Benrath, *Ochino*, p. 208. [Lady F. was the translatress' grandmother. Sir Anthony Cooke married Anne, daughter of Sir William Fitzwilliam.]

[40] [It has been proved by Rev. A. B. Grosart that the real author of the *Christian Paradoxes* was Rev. Herbert Palmer.]

to obtain the magistrates' confirmation of the call he had received from the Walloon Church in that city.

Failing to obtain a pulpit, he at any rate made use of the press to propound his ideas, and seized the occasion of the appearance of the *Confession of Faith of the Lutherans of Antwerp*, published in December, 1567, by Mattia Flacio Illyrico, to write a letter to his Lutheran colleagues, in which he exhorted them to concord and moderation in the Eucharistic controversy, and invoked the authority of John à Lasco. He reached England then, preceded by a reputation for latitudinarianism as regards confessions of faith. He at once announced his arrival to Archbishop Parker, sending him two pamphlets, his epistle, afterwards published in English (1570), with the title, *A Godly Admonition sent to the Pastor of the Flemish Church in Antwerp, exhorting them to Concord with other Ministers*, and a letter published in English (1577), with the title, *A Supplication to the King of Spain, wherein is showed the Sum of Religion*, &c. They were originally published in Latin and French, and Corranus told Parker he thought that they would be useful reading for his daughters, who were studying the French language. Thanks to this high protection, he was accepted as the second minister of the Spanish Church in London, and filled that charge successfully for the space of two years, conciliating the favour of Sir William Cecil and the Earl of Leicester.

But in his second year of office (1570), symptoms of disagreement appeared between Corranus and his co-presbyter Jerlito, minister of the Italian Church.[41] And when a tract by Corranus appeared under the title, *Tableau de l'Œuvre de Dieu* (before 1568), printed at Norwich, and dedicated to the most noble Lady Stafford, he was immediately

[41] For details of this controversy, see Strype, *Life of Grindal*, pp. 185—187, 217—222.

denounced in the presbytery common to the two churches, Italian and Spanish, as tainted with heresy. Very soon Jean Cousin, the minister of the French Church, mingled in the fray, taking the part of Jerlito.[42] Corranus, on his side, defended himself tooth and nail; he wrote seven letters, one after the other, to Theodore Beza, who referred the whole affair to Bishop Grindal, superintendent of the Strangers' Church. He, after an inquiry, suspended Corranus from his functions. When Corranus applied for the degree of Doctor of Divinity at the University of Oxford, he incurred a strong opposition on the part of his fellow-clergymen in the Strangers' Church in London. They forwarded to Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Edwin Sandys, then Bishop of London, a list of 138 heretical theses extracted from the lectures, conversations and works of Corranus, setting against them as many orthodox theses.[43] However, by favour of his powerful friends, the Spanish ex-pastor was appointed reader of theology in Latin at the Temple church in London (1571—1575), and afterwards at Oxford (1575—1586). He was *Censor Theologicus* at Christ Church, Oxford (1581—1585), and prebendary of Harleston (1586—1591) in St. Paul's, London, where he died, 30 March, 1591.

What, then, were the charges of heresy on which Corranus was incriminated? The first, beyond doubt, was his not deferring to the authority of a confession of faith. At Antwerp, the Lutherans had confronted him with their modification of the Augsburg Confession; and now in London the Calvinists reproached him with not putting himself under the sanction of Calvin or Theodore Beza. The truth is, the author of the *Tableau de l'Œuvre de Dieu* had deemed it

[42] *Zürich Letters*, 2 ser., Letter 66 (Bishop Grindal to Theodore Beza and others).

[43] Christiaan Sepp, *Polemische en Irenische Theologie:* Leyden, 1881.

sufficient to invoke the authority of the Scriptures. Let us see, then, how on this principle he treats the dogma of the persons of the Trinity:

Thesis IV. "Deus est unitas et unicus existit; et manat ab eo solo, nec tamen de alio, quia ea decresceret fieretque minor. Ubi sunt duo, fieri potest ut inter ea oriatur discordia."

Thesis V. "Hoc unum, Deus, vult unum, estque omnibus binis contrarium. . . . ."

Thesis X. "Omnium in eo (Christo) perfectissimum fuit integra et omnibus numeris absoluta unitio voluntatis, quæ sibi non arrogavit a quo erat ipse, unum alioqui decessisset uni."

Thesis XXV. "Æternus Deus, Jesum ex hoc mundo educens, misit Spiritum Suum, habitum, flatum, vim, potentiam et energiam in corda filiorum suorum regeneratorum."[44]

These articles bear evident signs of an extra-trinitarian bias exactly similar to Ochino's *Thirty Dialogues* and Florio's famous questions to the Zürich ministers. But the sources from which all these imbibed their opinions were the *Annotations on the New Testament* of Erasmus, and the Biblical works of Castellio, Ochino's translator and friend. Here is the proof of it:—Corranus, writes William Barlow, son of

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[44] ["4. God is a unity, and exists as unique; and [this unity] flows from him alone, and not from any other, because [if so] it would diminish and become less. Where there are two things, it may happen that discord may arise between them.—5. This one [word] God means one thing, and is opposed to all doubles.—10. In Christ the most perfect thing of all was his entire and absolute union of will, which [will] did not arrogate to itself that from which he himself was, the one would otherwise have been wanting to the one.—25. The everlasting God, when withdrawing Jesus from this world, sent into the hearts of His regenerate children His own Spirit, a breath, blast, force, potency and energy."] See *Theses excerptæ ex lectionibus, colloquiis, et maxime e scriptis D. Corrani*, in Dr. Christiaan Sepp's learned monograph, *Polemische en Irenische Theologie*, Leyden, 1881, pp. 30 ff. [In his *Articles of Faith* (1574), Corranus explicitly sets forth the Trinity and the Incarnation; in 1576 he subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles, as a condition of obtaining the degree of D.D. at Oxford.]

the Bishop of that name, in a letter to Josiah Simler, "is a great admirer of Castalio, of whose version of the Bible he declares this opinion, that he is a very bad translator, for he has given anything rather than a literal rendering; but if you speak about a paraphrase, then, says he, Castalio excels all other interpreters by many leagues. I know also," adds Barlow, "that he made earnest enquiry from a person of my acquaintance whether or not he had some dialogues on the Trinity, by an anonymous individual, printed at Basel, but Castalio, he said, is thought to have been the author of them; and he added that he was very anxious to procure them."[45]

Giacomo Contio (Acontius) is sure not to have had so much trouble in procuring this forbidden book, for an expression in a letter from Bishop Jewel to Peter Martyr reveals to us the existence of friendly relations between him and Ochino. "I would not," says Jewel, "that Master Bernardine should suppose that I have forgotten him. My influence and exertions have not been wanting . . . The five Italian crowns which I received from Master Barthol. Compagni in his name, I handed over to Acontius. We are now exerting ourselves about his canonry, and there is a good prospect of obtaining it."[46]

It may be recollected that Acontius was mixed up in the Adriaans van Hamstede controversy, and excommunicated on that ground by Bishop Grindal. In the following chapter we shall see the decisive part he played in the English Uni-

[45] *Zürich Letters*, 2 ser., Letters 101 (Corranus to Bullinger) and 105 (W. Barlow to J. Simler). [Barlow's letter, above quoted, bears date 25 Jan. 1575. The *Thirty Dialogues* of Ochino were not anonymous, and had made a noise over Europe eleven years before. It may well be that de Corro had not seen them; but it is strange that he should be ignorant of their authorship, if he had heard of them at all. Possibly the reference is to some other book.]

[46] *Zürich Letters*, 1 ser., Letters 16 and 24.

tarian movement. We have now to sum up the account of Ochino's influence exerted in this direction.

The leading idea of Ochino's theology is that God is Love. His grace does all; man has but to surrender himself with confidence to the Spirit of God, which acts and speaks in him. This inner voice of the Spirit (*Dei sermo interior*) is superior even to the written word of the gospel. Starting from this position, and pursuing the method of Duns Scotus, Ochino maintains that the work of Christ has an infinite value for the expiation of our sins, not in itself, but because God has endowed it with this virtue and accepted it in this light. Lastly, in his *Thirty Dialogues*, Ochino betrays the secret doubts in his own soul which were shaking faith in the received doctrines of the Trinity and the Deity of Jesus Christ; and concludes that the best thing to do is to prostrate one's self in silence before this mystery, and not seek on this subject to be wiser than the Scripture. On the whole, he did not directly attack the doctrine of the Trinity, and yet no one after Servetus dealt stouter blows against that doctrine. By his Scotist theory of redemption, he opened the way for the Socinian Christology; and through his disciples, Acontius and Corranus, he bequeathed to English Unitarianism these two great ideas, the Divine Love which respects human liberty, even in a rebellious child, and the Universal Church, towering above all the particular churches, each with its own ambition of infallibility.

CHAPTER VIII.

Acontius, his philosophical and religious ideas, and his influence on English theology.

> "Ab omni autem Christiano congressu prorsus abesse vincendi studium oportet; unus enim sit scopus, ut vincat Veritas." *Stratagemata*, ii.

WHO, then, was this Italian whom we have twice noticed in connection with the *Ecclesia Peregrinorum;* first as a friend of "Master Bernardine" and Bishop Jewel (1559), and two years afterwards (1561) as implicated in the controversy about Adriaans van Hamstede, one of the Flemish pastors? M'Crie places him at the head of the list of notables of the Italian Church in London, together with Giambattista Castiglione, one of Queen Elizabeth's gentlemen of the Privy Chamber; and we know from another source that he received a pension from that princess in his quality of military engineer.[1] To him, in fact, is generally attributed one of the first treatises on fortifications, which appeared at Geneva under the title *Ars Muniendorum Oppidorum* (1585). As, moreover, he published a book entitled *Stratagemata Satanæ*, it looks at first as though we had to do with a soldier or a diplomatist. But the illusion is of no long duration. In reading his works, taking care not to neglect the prefaces, we are soon convinced that we are in the presence of a man

[1] M'Crie, *Reformation in Spain*, p. 366. The real name of Acontius, as given in Francesco Betti's letter to the Marquis of Pescaro, and in Pietro Bizarri's *History of Hungary*, was Giacomo Contio.

of eminence in almost every department; at once engineer and theologian, philosopher and lawyer, mathematician and poet. We shall briefly sketch his biography, from the materials supplied by the prefaces to his books, which are the most important documents, and by the clear and accurate article which M. Charles Waddington has devoted to him in the second edition of the *Dictionnaire des Sciences Philosophiques.*

A dark veil conceals the dates of his birth and of his death. All we know is, that he was born at Trienta (Trent) and died in London. It may be concluded from his letter to Francesco Betti (1558) that he was his contemporary; and, from his letter to Johann Wolff (20 November, 1562), that by this last date he had passed the meridian of his life, that is to say, his fortieth year.[2] He had spent long years in studying the works of Bartolo and Baldo (de Ubaldis), jurisconsults who were then authorities in the law schools, but had little esteem for "men of that sort" (*ejus farinæ*), as he calls them.[3] He seems to have had more taste for Aristotle, Plato and Archimedes, for we find in his works numerous references to their principles. Taken into the service of the Marquis of Pescaro,[4] one of the members of that d'Avalos family which has given such great generals to Spain, he there doubtless learned the military art, especially that branch of it which relates to sieges, and spent several years at the court of the Spanish viceroy at Milan. Here he made the acquaintance of Francesco Betti, a Roman

[2] Compare also these words from lib. vii. p. 311 (edition of 1610), of the *Stratagemata*: "*Quid nostra accidit ætate? Sunt jam anni plus minus quadraginta septem, quum cœpit Lutherus contra Romanam ecclesiam docere.*" From these various indications we draw the inference that Giacomo Contio was born at Trent somewhere about the year 1520.

[3] Letter to J. Wolff, in the 1610 edition of the *Stratagemata* [also in the 1565 duodecimo and the 1653 edition], dated London, 20 Nov. 1562.

[4] [He was the husband of Vittoria Colonna.]

knight, son of one of the Marquis's stewards. To use his own words, "The laborious and anxious employments in which we have long been engaged together, the similarity of our studies and inclinations, and, what is above all, our identity of sentiment in religion," gave rise to "such an intimate friendship" between them, that, when residence in Italy became intolerable for Protestants, even secret ones, they together made up their minds to go into exile.[5]

Betti was the first to set out, and went to Basel. Two months afterwards (in the middle of October, 1557), he was rejoined by Acontius, and they both sought refuge at Zürich, where they were received with open arms in Ochino's house.

The Italian Church at Zürich was then at the height of its prosperity. Peter Martyr, who had succeeded Pellican in the chair of Hebrew, and who was received by the Locarnese community "as a second father," was the means of drawing them into close relations with the University.[6] Acontius, with his ardour for work and his modest and conciliatory character, speedily made friends with Josias Simler, Johann Frisius (Friese), and above all Johann Wolff who had been put into the place of Bibliander when the latter was pensioned off (*emeritus*) on the ground of his anti-Calvinistic opinions on predestination.[7] On the other hand, he also became acquainted with Lelio Sozini, the young magician who had succeeded in disarming Calvin himself.[8] As for Betti, who was perhaps a younger man, he

[5] See the letter to Francesco Betti, serving as preface to the *Methodus sive recta investigandarum tradendarumque Artium ac Scientiarum ratio:* Basel, 1558 (title as reprinted, 1658).

[6] Benrath, *Ochino*, pp. 271 ff.

[7] This J. Wolff was pastor of the Fraumünster at Zürich, and was a distinguished Hebraist and theologian; we meet him again in correspondence with Lelio Sozini, and with the English exiles.

[8] [This seems barely possible; Lelio Sozini left Zürich 4 Nov. 1557, and did not return till August, 1559. See below, p. 174.]

attached himself more to Fausto, the nephew of Lelio.[9] At this period Acontius gave proof at once of great maturity of intellect and remarkable originality by publishing his essay on *Method*, dedicated to Francesco Betti. The printing of this book at Basel, by Peter Perna, took him often to that city, where he was certainly introduced to Curione, to Silvestro Telio, and to the élite of the Italian society.

From Basel Acontius proceeded to Strassburg, where he met with a knot of Italian Protestants, Zanchi, Odone, Massario and others, and also with a group of English exiles, Grindal, Jewel, Sampson, &c.[10]

When these latter returned home on the accession of Elizabeth, Acontius accompanied them, or at any rate he followed them very shortly, for we have discovered his presence in London in November, 1559.[11]

He must have been furnished with letters of recommendation from Ochino to powerful personages, for he was soon presented to the Queen, and obtained from her a pension as engineer.

Acontius had not merely material, but also religious wants. He assiduously frequented the Italian services, and took interest in all that passed in the Strangers' Church. We have seen him advocating, in the van Hamstede controversy, the cause of tolerance towards the Anabaptists, and excommunicated on this account by Bishop Grindal.[12] This did not prevent Queen Elizabeth, who took a broader view of things, from continuing her favour to Acontius, or from accepting the dedication of his *Stratagemata Satanæ*. Acontius was a man as modest as he was industrious, as pious as

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[9] [Not at Zürich; they were warm friends already, but F. Sozzini had not yet left Italy. They renewed their intercourse at Basel in 1575.]

[10] M'Crie, *Reformation in Italy*, pp. 448 ff.

[11] *Zürich Letters*, 1 ser., Letters 16 and 24.

[12] Chap. VI. p. 135.

he was learned. He enjoyed the general esteem of the Italian Church, and kept up a correspondence with the learned men of Europe, including the French philosopher, Ramus.[13]

He had finished several poems and treatises—one, for example, on *Dialectics*—when he was interrupted without being surprised by death (about 1570). He bequeathed his papers—all his fortune—to his friend Giovanni Battista Castiglione, gentleman-in-waiting to her Majesty, who, shortly afterwards, published his *Essortazione al timor di Dio*, together with some poetical pieces (doubtless hymns), as a kind of religious bequest, and an irrefragable testimony to his evangelical piety.[14] Among his admirers, especially the Arminians, Acontius left the reputation of "a divine light of prudence and moderation;" and even his opponents, applying to him a judgment passed on Origen, said of his works, "*Ubi bene, nemo melius; ubi male, nemo pejus.*"[15] There were two individualities in Acontius, the philosopher and the theologian: but differing in this respect from Pomponazzi, from Bacon, and even from Descartes, who placed the things of Reason and of Faith in two distinct spheres, one where everything is submitted to the free investigations of the human mind, the other, where there is nothing for it

[13] See letter from Ramus to Acontius, 15 Dec. 1565. Professor C. Waddington has proved that he could not have been dead in 1566, as most of the biographers say, since Ramus addresses him in 1567, at p. 59 of his *Proœmium Mathematicum*. [There seems no real proof that Ramus knew him. Jo. Ja. Grasser, who visited Oxford and London in 1606, was told that Acontius died shortly after the issue of the *Stratagemata* in 1565. If so, the letter of Ramus never reached him, and he may not have heard of his death; it is plain from his letter to Dee that his knowledge of English affairs was of the slightest.]

[14] See article on Acontius in Birch and Lockman's English translation of Bayle's Dictionary: London, 1734.

[15] Hallam, *History of Literature*, vol. iii. 75. Cf. Episcopii *Opera*, vol. i. 301 (1665 edition).

but to bow before the dogmata proclaimed by the Church—Acontius never separated what God has joined; he made use of one and the same method, namely, the analytic, for arriving at the solution both of scientific and of ecclesiastical problems. If we add that this method was novel in his time, that it preceded Bacon's *Novum Organon* by sixty years, and the *Method* of Descartes by seventy-five, the reader will form his own judgment of the profound intuition of our Italian Protestant.

The philosophical ideas of Acontius were propounded in three works: (1) *De Methodo, hoc est de Recta Investigandarum Tradendarumque Scientiarum Ratione* (Basel, 1558); (2) *Epistola de Ratione Edendorum Librorum*, addressed to J. Wolff (first printed, 1610); (3) a treatise, *De Dialectica*, which remained unfinished in manuscript, and was never published.[16]

By method, Acontius means the right way of studying and teaching the sciences; and on this ground it forms a part of logic. Now, the first condition of arriving at the knowledge of truth is the possession of a right intelligence, that is to say, the faculty of discerning the true from the false.

Here Acontius is not an optimist like Descartes; he does not admit that "good sense is the most generally distributed possession in the world;" and he recommends us to make sure of the rightness of our judgment, by comparing our spontaneous opinions with the judgment of the wisest men (*summorum hominum*). As regards the origin of his method, he, like Descartes, confesses that he has borrowed it from the mathematicians, who, by their rigorous deductions, attain certain and incontestable results. He would have us, above everything, keep a firm hold of a small number of fundamental points, and define things in clear terms, exact and concise, in order that they may be precisely distinguished

[16] Letter to J. Wolff (printed at the end of the *Stratagemata.*)

from everything else: *Pauca conare, sed ut perficias. Ad nimis multa, si sapis, animum non adjicies.* Here we have, if not the formula, at any rate the spirit, of the first rule of the *Method* of Descartes.[17] Acontius does not trouble himself with the vast multitude of philosophical axioms, or of theological dogmata; he will admit as true only that small number of verities which shall appear to him to be in conformity with reason and Scripture.

After having laid this foundation, he distinguishes between the two branches of method, that which relates to the search for truth, and that which consists in propounding truth; and he gives, at the outset, the rules which are common to both. According to Acontius, these rules are: (1) To investigate, in the first place, the more familiar things, in order to pass from the better known to the less known (compare Descartes' third rule).[18] (2) To begin with singulars, or things less common, in order to advance from them to things more universal (for example, from the individual to the species, from the species to the genus), and thus to mount from effects to causes in a nearer and nearer approach.[19] (3) Once having learned the genus to which a thing belongs, to proceed by dividing everything into its parts, that is to say, genus into its several species, species into its families (compare Descartes' second rule).[20] (4) To observe such an order in these divisions and sub-divisions, that no one of the parts constitutes more than half the

[17] See Descartes, *Discours de la Méthode*, edit. Vapereau, p. 19. "Au lieu de ce grand nombre de preceptes dont la logique est composée, je crus que j'aurais assez des quatre suivants, pourvu que je prisse la ferme resolution de ne manquer pas une seule fois de les observer." ["In place of the large number of rules of which logic is made up, I think I should do very well with the four following, provided I took a firm resolve never once to neglect observing them."] Cf. Letter to Wolff, p. 409.

[18] *De Methodo*, p. 40, ed. Basel, 1559.

[19] *Ibid.* pp. 48, 49.

[20] *Ibid.* pp. 50—56.

whole; and that no part is omitted (compare Descartes' fourth rule).[21]

Comparing these precepts with the four rules of Descartes (1637), we are struck with the analogy, not only of ideas, but even of expressions; and knowing, as we do, that the treatise *De Methodo* of Acontius (1558) was reprinted several times in Switzerland and in Holland, we cannot discard the idea that Descartes had some knowledge of the essay of his precursor. Moreover, this resemblance has not escaped the notice of Descartes' disciples. Hulner, a learned Dutch Cartesian, wrote to Père Mersenne (19 August, 1641) on the occasion of the publication of Descartes' *Meditations*, that "he approved the preference given by the author to the analytic method over the synthetic; that up to that time he had met with nothing similar, except in the little book on *Method* by Acontius, who, in addition to that excellent essay, had also given a fine example of the analytic method in his *Stratagemata Satanæ*, a work worthy to be read by all lovers of peace in the Church."[22]

This leads us to the consideration of Acontius as a theologian, the sequel to our examination of him as a philosopher. What strikes us above everything is the religious character of this Italian, who had sacrificed a considerable position in his own country in order to obey his conscience. He paints his own picture, when, in his letter to Wolff, he says that we must write, not for vain renown, but for the public utility and for the glory of God; and that with the help of God, sought in prayer, all things may be attempted.[23]

Unhappily, the work in which Acontius revealed the innermost sentiments of his piety, his *Essortazione al timor di Dio*, has not come down to us. We can judge of its

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[21] *De Methodo*, p. 99.

[22] A. Baillet, *Vie de Descartes:* Paris, 1691, vol. ii. 138.

[23] Letter to Wolff, p. 407.

spirit only from his *Stratagemata Satanæ*, and a letter which has lost its address, designed to refute certain objections which a friend (doubtless Francesco Betti) had forwarded to him concerning that work.[24] The *Stratagemata* is a kind of eirenicon, dealing with the variations of doctrine and morals in the Christian Church, and the means of remedying them.

The form which Acontius gives to his meditations is very original and poetic. Like the author of the Apocalypse, he represents the world as the scene of the conflict between the kingdom of light, ruled by Christ, and the kingdom of darkness, governed by Satan. Just as the aim of Satan is man's death, so the aim and end of Christian doctrine is eternal life.[25]

This first principle, once settled, serves him as a criterion to distinguish sterile controversies from profitable questions: all that avails to attain this end is profitable to be known; whatever does not, is injurious and to be avoided. What we have to seek, in profitable discussions, is not the vain delight of a personal success, but solely the triumph of truth.[26]

It is on the strength of this same principle (drawn from St. John xvii. 3) that Acontius discriminates between the articles of faith which are necessary to salvation, and those which may be abandoned to controversy without risking the Church's weal.[27]

This sorting out of essential truths leads the author to examine the question of Confessions of Faith. Acontius is much struck with the reproach, which the Catholics cast

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[24] This letter, whose heading has been mutilated by time, was found and published for the first time by Thomas Crenius, in his *Animadversiones Philologicæ et Historicæ*, Leyden, 1697, 3 vols. 8vo, vol. i. part ii. pp. 30—131.

[25] Cf. the argument of Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

[26] *Stratagemata*, book i. pp. 38—40. [27] *Ibid.* book iii. p. 108.

against Protestants, of having almost as many confessions as they have cities or particular sects; and he avows that the tendency of these formularies is to place the authority of human words above that of the Word of God. Nothing, in his opinion, would be of greater service to the Reformed churches, than to abolish all these confessions, with a view to replace them by a single creed.[28] He asks himself whether the so-called Apostles' Creed would attain this end, by its simplicity and its conciseness; but, having shown that on the cardinal question of justification its language is inadequate, and that it makes no mention of Baptism or of the Lord's Supper, he expresses the wish that pious men may compose a Confession of Faith which may satisfy all the churches. For himself, he is too modest to put forward a model,[29] but we gather from his book and from his letters that he only admitted as indispensable the four or five points following: 1. God the Father is the only true God. 2. Jesus Christ is truly the Son of God, and the only Mediator. 3. Salvation is obtained of free grace through faith. 4 and 5. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are the necessary sacraments, for admission into the Church, and the reception of eternal life.

As regards the other dogmata, which, on his principle, it is not necessary to know, Acontius does not enumerate

[28] *Stratag.* book vii. pp. 331, 332. See Appendix XII.

[29] The editor of the third edition of the *Stratagemata*, Johann Jakob Grasser, of Basel, was less modest, and has set forth, as coming from Acontius, a logical series of essential truths, as well as a Confession of Faith, in longer and shorter alternative forms. Comparing the 1610 edition with the two editions of 1565, the only ones published during the author's lifetime, it is probable that the entire contents of pp. 109—132, and 334—344, are interpolations. [If this were so, the enumeration of the five necessary points could no longer be attributed to Acontius, for it belongs to the second of these passages. But the truth is that both these sections appear in the duodecimo of 1565, and also in the French version of 1565, *Le Ruzes de Satan.*]

them; but in his last letter to Betti he mentions that of the Trinity as having given rise to irritating controversies, and as having led Sabellius to slight one of the fundamental truths of Christianity. "One thing only is required of us," he says, "namely, that we believe in Christ as the Son of God; that is to say, not that, in thinking or speaking about him, we make use of this term, but that we admit the notion which it contains. Now, the notion of a Son can only apply to one who has really a Father, different from himself. Sabellius, therefore, in identifying the Son with the Father, destroys the notion that Jesus is the true Son of God; and so puts himself outside the beliefs essential to salvation."[30]

If we compare this declaration with the language of Strype, who, in his *Life of Grindal*, relates that Acontius was excommunicated, along with van Hamstede, by the Bishop of London, for having denied that Christ's taking flesh of the Virgin Mary was a fundamental article of faith;[31] if, especially, we compare it with the letter which he wrote (1562) to Bishop Grindal, claiming to be again allowed to communicate in the French Church, we shall infer from this comparison that our engineer was a Unitarian of the first rank. Van Hamstede retracted a year afterwards; Acontius maintained his affirmation of the five points, conformable to Scripture and alone necessary for salvation; and, more fortunate than Servetus and Ochino in his opposition to the Trinity, he died in favour with the Queen, and in the faith of the Son of the only God.

Acontius did not wholly die; and it is not without meaning that Francis Cheynell, the ardent defender of the Trinity, attests that in 1613 he still lived. For his mind and his

[30] Crenius, *Animadversiones, ut sup.* (Letter, without address, of 7 June, 1566). [Also, almost verbatim, in the *Stratagemata*, bk. iii.]

[31] Strype's *Grindal*, pp. 66 ff. See letter of Acontius among MSS. of the Dutch Church (Ser. l. pp. 149—153) in the Guildhall Library [printed in Gerdes' *Scrinium Antiquarium*, vii. i. 123].

method exercised an influence which extended beyond the limits of his life and the boundaries of England. While he was yet living, the learned Ramus had paid homage to his mathematical power in a letter dated 15 December, 1565;[32] and after him Hulner, in his letter on the *Meditations* of Descartes, and John Amos of Komnē (Comenius), in the Preface to his *Idea vel Epitome Philosophiæ Naturalis*, speak the praises of his method for the study of philosophy.

With the Arminians, the *Stratagemata* was one of their great authorities, as we have seen in the above phrase of Arminius; and Episcopius declares that he refrains from citing the testimonies in favour of Acontius, because all the Arminian books draw their inspiration from him.[33]

But it is especially in England that it is important for us to pursue traces of the ideas of Acontius. We already know, from Strype, that he counted numerous admirers in the bosom of the Strangers' Church. These contested the lawfulness of the excommunication with which, together with his friend the Flemish pastor, he had been smitten; and several of them, having refused to retract, were excommunicated in their turn.[34] After his death, his friend Castiglione and, without any doubt, the Spanish pastor Antonio de Corro (Corranus), whose moderate and biblical ideas we have already shown, kept up among the Protestant refugees in London the eirenic and extra-trinitarian tendency of the author of the *Stratagemata*.

But his real representatives were his books. His *Stratagemata* went through, to our knowledge, five editions in Latin before 1660; the first two at Basel, printed by Pietro Perna, 1565, one in octavo. the other in duodecimo; the third in 1610 (edited by Grasser); the fourth appeared at Oxford in 1631, and the fifth at Amsterdam, 1652.[35]

[32] See Appendix XI. [33] Episcopii *Opera*, vol. i. 301. [34] Strype, *ut sup.*

[35] [There was a sixth at Neomagus (probably Speyer), 1661, a seventh at Amsterdam, 1674.]

In March, 1648, there was sitting in the Jerusalem chamber at Westminster a large Assembly of English ecclesiastics, composed of Presbyterians, Episcopalians and Independents, and busied in endeavouring to discover a compromise between their several systems of church government, when, one day, the above-mentioned Cheynell laid on the table a book which he denounced as containing pestilent heresy. This was the English translation of the first four books of the *Stratagemata*, dedicated to the Lords and Commons, without the name of the translator (John Goodwin), but with a letter from John Durie to Samuel Hartlib, recommending the work.[36] Durie, as it happened, was a member of the Assembly; he was questioned, stammered out vague explanations, and then declared his willingness to make a public retractation of his letter.

The Westminster Assembly appointed a committee to examine the work of Acontius, and Cheynell, deputed to draw up the report, came to the conclusion that the author should be condemned as a heretic and the book prohibited: "1. Because in the Creed which Acontius framed there is no mention made either of the Godhead of Jesus Christ, or of the Godhead of the Holy Ghost. 2. Although Acontius doth acknowledge Jesus Christ to be truly the Son of God, yet he doth not in his Creed declare him to be the *natural* Son of God."[37]

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[36] [*Satan's Stratagems; or the Devil's Cabinet-Councel discovered*, 4to, 1648, with portrait headed, "James Acontius a Reuerend Diuine.' Part of the impression was re-issued, 1651, with the title, *Darkness Discovered; or the Devil's secret Stratagems laid open.* It is a poor translation, but Acontius is not a very smooth writer; he did not, like Ochino, get his works rendered out of Italian by a classic pen. Goodwin was an Arminian Independent, a zealous republican and regicide. Durie (Duræus), a Scottish divine, once minister of Leith, spent his life in unwearied endeavours to bring about a reconciliation between the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches, and died abroad. The Unitarians of Transylvania were among the few who looked favourably on his scheme.]

[37] Wallace, *ut sup.*, vol. i. 108—110.

This judgment was ratified by the Assembly, who had the *Stratagems* of Acontius suppressed, as if they were in very deed artifices of Satan.[38]

It was in vain to condemn the memory of Master Acontius; his ideas could not be prevented from having their course, and even their conquests, among enlightened minds, who felt the need of a common ground of reconciliation. Hales and Chillingworth, the heads of the Latitudinarian party, borrowed the method of Acontius, in order to reduce the truths of the Christian religion to a small number; and the finest pages of Milton's *Areopagitica* were inspired by the *Stratagemata Satanæ.*

The heresies for which the Calvinistic writers censured Acontius may be summed up under three heads—indifferentism, Socinianism, and liberalism.[39] So far as the first is concerned, it does not appear to us to be well founded. The man who, in the maturity of his age and the zenith of his career, condemned himself to a voluntary exile in order to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience,—the refugee who did not fear to expose himself to excommunication for having pleaded the cause of tolerance in the case of poor Anabaptist immigrants,—lastly, the author of those fine pages of the *Stratagemata*, whose only aim is the glory of God, peace on the earth, and the union of the Protestant churches—this man was no indifferentist.

Is the second reproach better founded? To judge of this, no more is needed than a comparison of dates and places. Acontius left Switzerland in 1558, at the moment when Lelio Sozini was taking his great journey through Germany and Poland; and he does not appear to have had

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[38] [The Assembly requested Cheynell to publish his views on the subject, but it does not appear that Contio's book was suppressed. The reissue of unsold copies in 1651 proves the contrary.]

[39] Struve, *Observationes Selectæ ad rem literariam spectantes*, Halle and Magdeburg, 1702, vol. vi. obs. 25.

any direct relations with Lelio, who died in 1562. And as regards Fausto Sozzini, the inheritor of his uncle's ideas, he did not leave the court of Florence until 1574 or 1575, and did not publish the first book bearing his name, the *De Jesu Christo Servatore*, until 1594, thirty years after the death of Acontius.[40] If, therefore, there are ideas in common between Acontius and the Sozzini, the priority belongs to Queen Elizabeth's engineer. Now, the merest comparison of the two systems proves that they started from the same principle, namely, that the aim and end of the Christian religion is eternal life; and that they followed the same method, namely, to accept as essential truth only that which is in conformity with Scripture, and is instrumental in procuring this divine life. Both maintained the absolute preeminence of God the Father; the moral, not the "essential," filiation of Jesus Christ; and the subordination of the Holy Spirit to the Father. Only Acontius, in denying the fundamental importance of the dogma of the miraculous birth,[41] lays more stress on the real humanity of Christ; while Fausto Sozzini, by admitting that birth and rendering divine honours to Jesus, makes Christ a creature between heaven and earth.

Lastly, Acontius has been reproached with having cherished ideas too lofty and too liberal for his time. This reproach we adopt as his title of glory. Yes, Acontius was of that class of minds so rare in the sixteenth century, who, without abandoning the foundation of inspired Scripture, protested, in the name of the very spirit of the gospel, against the inconsistencies of Calvinism and of Lutheranism, and the

[40] [This is true; but the pseudonyms of F. Sozzini were very transparent; he began to publish in 1562; and, through Betti (who sent for F. Pucci out of England in 1577, for the express purpose of being converted by Sozzini), Acontius must have become acquainted with Sozzini's position.]

[41] [But see *ante*, p. 135.]

use of the secular arm against heretics. Acontius is the worthy compeer of Castellio and Koornhert, of Curione and Mino Celsi, and well merited the laudatory judgment which Hallam has passed upon him as one of those highly gifted Italians who fled for religion to a Protestant country:

"Without openly assailing the authority of Aristotle, he endeavoured to frame a new discipline of the faculties for the discovery of truth. In this little treatise (*De Methodo*) of Aconcio, there seem to be the elements of a sounder philosophy, and a more steady direction of the mind to discover the reality of things, than belonged to the logic of the age, whether as taught by the Aristotelians or by Ramus. Acontius had developed larger principles of toleration than Castalio, Celso and Koornhert, distinguishing the fundamental from the accessory doctrines of the gospel; which, by weakening the associations of bigotry prepared the way for a catholic tolerance. His *Stratagemata* treatise is perhaps the first wherein the limitation of fundamental articles of Christianity to a small number is laid down at considerable length."[42]

Acontius, finally, lifts his voice against the application of the death penalty in the matter of heresy; but his reasoning, like that of Castellio, is equally valid against all the lesser penalties.

"There are those," he says, "who think that, if the sword be allowed to rest, it is over with all religion; but we do a great injury to God if we suppose that He sleeps, that He cannot take care of His people, or that He cannot preserve His gospel without the sword; as though His word were of no effect, but the whole hope of the Christian were placed in cold steel. Let us be of good cheer; the Lord is not asleep, but keepeth watch. If all our hope be placed in Him, if we do battle with the Word, and with the spirit of His breath (which is to be besought with instant prayers), yea, what we fear from heretics will be as nought."

"If ecclesiastics," he continues, "once get the upper hand, if

[42] Hallam, *Introd. to Lit. of Europe*, 1839, ii. 157, 159; iii. 102; ii. 114.

it be conceded to them, that the moment a man shall dare to open his mouth, the executioner must come and cut all knots with his blade, what then will become of the grand study of the Holy Scriptures? Truly it will be thought little worth a man's while to engage in it. For men will be able to force all the dreams of their imaginations on wretched groundlings, and still retain their place of dignity. Woe unto us, woe unto our posterity, if we cast aside this only weapon, with which we may lawfully fight, and may always be victorious! We may as well give over at once."[43]

[43] *Stratagemata*, lib. iii. pp. 156, 157, 158 (ed. 1610). See Appendix XII.

CHAPTER IX.

Socinianism; its two authors, Lelio and Fausto Sozzini; stages of their doctrine, and its introduction into England.

It was within the Strangers' Church in London that, as we have seen, arose the first controversies in England on the subject of the Trinity (1550—1575); and here appeared, as vanguard of the Unitarian party, the Italians Ochino and Acontius, and the Spaniard Corranus. So far, however, these questions had scarcely penetrated beyond the precincts of Austin Friars and the circle of professional theologians. The engineer Acontius was the first layman who claimed the right to deal with ecclesiastical subjects; and, in spite of the excommunication which smote him, it appears that his *Stratagemata* exerted even more influence in England than Ochino's *Thirty Dialogues*. Now it was part of the tactics of Acontius not directly to combat, with arguments derived from reason, the dogmata of the Trinity and of the divinity of Jesus Christ, but to relegate them to the class of questions not essential to salvation. The tendency, then, of these "pseudo-evangelicals," as Microen calls them, was rather extra-Trinitarian than anti-Trinitarian.

But Acontius, in applying his fine analytical method to religious questions, was becoming unawares the promoter of a revolution in dogma, not less fruitful than the Cartesian revolution in philosophy later on. We speak of Socinianism. Acontius and his friend Ochino stand towards Socinianism as Scotism stands towards Ochino. The filiation of ideas and of methods is evident. From the first book of the

Stratagemata is borrowed the criterion, adopted in the *Catechism* of the Fratres Poloni, for the purpose of distinguishing between truths essential to salvation, and those which are only useful, viz. the degree of their serviceableness for the attainment of eternal life. With respect to the doctrine of redemption by the grace of God, who accepts as expiatory the merits of Jesus Christ, Fausto Sozzini confesses that his opinion (*sententia*) had been "openly expressed and inculcated in the *Dialogi* of Ochino."[1] Thus it was again to Italians that the task was reserved of applying the analytic and critical method to the theory of the sacraments, and the dogmata of redemption, of predestination and of the resurrection; and of opening the pathway of Unitarian Christianity at both extremities of Europe, in Poland and Transylvania on the one hand, in England and the Netherlands on the other. But first let us see what the Sozzini were.

The Sozzini (diminutive of Sozzi) were a very ancient family, originally from Percena, near Buonconvento in Tuscany, and established at Siena since the beginning of the fourteenth century. After having become enriched as bankers and notaries, they had given themselves up to the study of law. Mariano, the elder (1397—1467), was professor of Canon Law at Padua; Bartolomeo was the author of *Socini Solutiones;* and lastly, Mariano, the younger (1482—1556), lectured on law with growing success at Pisa, Padua and Bologna (circa 1540), and received from his contemporaries the appellation of *Princeps Jurisconsultorum.* This Mariano had thirteen children, eleven sons and two daughters; the eldest son, Alessandro, became the father of Fausto Sozzini (born 5 Dec. 1539); and the sixth son was

[1] *Theolog. Review*, Oct. 1879, A. Gordon's second article on *The Sozzini and their School*, p. 546. [It was not the doctrine that Christ's merits were accepted as expiatory (Sozzini did not believe this in any sense), but the doctrine that Christ's work was to influence not God but man, which Sozzini found in Ochino.]

Lelio Francesco Maria Sozzini (born 29 Jan. 1525). These two became the first founders of Socinianism.[2] Several other sons of Mariano the younger were suspected of heresy and obliged to go into exile ; Camillo and Cornelio, for example, who were younger than Lelio, and whom we have already met with at Chiavenna.[3] As to Celso, although at the head of the party of freethinkers and literary men of Siena, he retained the favour of the Medici, became a Count, and gonfaloniere of S. Martino to boot. He was the founder of the Accademia dei Sizienti, which had for its emblem a winged lion on the summit of a mountain with the motto *Quamdiu sitient?* Frequently there were several of these academies or literary societies in the smallest towns of Italy, thirty at least in Siena ;[4] and, like the societies founded by Conrad Celtis, at Mainz and at Vienna, by Wimpheling at Strassburg and Schlestadt, these academies very soon became so many centres of religious discussions.

Such was the situation, on one hand men of letters, on the other hand men of law, in which young Lelio was brought up. The religious element, however, was not wanting in his education ; it was represented by his mother, Camilla Salvetti, a woman as pious as she was enlightened, and by his sister, Porzia ; and at the age of fifteen he had opportunities of hearing Bernardino Ochino's sermons, already saturated with evangelical doctrine. He was, moreover, gifted with a clear and subtle intellect, and a heart open to the noblest affections, those of friendship and the religious sentiment. Beginning his law studies at Bologna

[2] Cantù, *ut sup.*, vol. ii. discourse viii. (*The Antitrinitarians*), and, in appendix, the genealogy of the Sozzini.

[3] The name of A. Socini (with five sons, not named) is found in the Registers of the French Church at Basel for the year 1559.

[4] [There were no less than forty-six at Siena, of which a few still exist. Celtes was not the founder, though the chief extender, of the Rhenish Academy.]

under his father's auspices, our student was already full of the idea of seeking in the Divine Law the sources of human jurisprudence; he learned Greek, Hebrew, and even Arabic, with the view of being able to understand the Scriptures in the original tongues. At twenty-one he set out on his first tour through Europe, and, from that moment till his death in May 1562, it may be said that, with the exception of two sojourns of three years each at Zürich (1555—1557 and 1559—1562), his whole life was but the journey of a noble pilgrim in search of religious truth. As we cannot follow him through all his peregrinations, we intend simply to mark the principal stages of his thought, as gathered from his own correspondence, and that of the Swiss Reformers.

Lelio's halting-place was at Venice, that intense focus of evangelical ideas, where questions pertaining to the Eucharist and the Trinity had already been matter of study for sixteen years. Here he certainly made the acquaintance of Baldassare Altieri (who is mentioned in several of his letters), and he frequented the conferences at Vicenza, where the dogmata of the Trinity and Vicarious Satisfaction were under discussion.[5]

If we may believe Andrzej Wiszowaty (his nephew's grandson, who was perhaps a little carried away by ancestral piety in extolling the early deserts of his great grand-uncle), Lelio, while reading the Scriptures from the standpoint of Law, "observed the discrepancies between them and the commonly-received dogmata of the Church, especially that of the Trinity, and revived the opinion, then, as it were, smouldering in the embers, that the Son of God, Jesus Christ, had no existence prior to Mary, his mother." Lelio was then only twenty-one, and some writers have treated Wiszowaty's narrative as a myth, on the ground of this extreme youth,

[5] Andrzej Wiszowaty of Szumky, *Narratio Compendiosa*, at p. 209 of Sand's *Bibliotheca Antitrin.*

coupled with various anachronisms. For ourselves, while altogether rejecting, with Trechsel and A. Gordon,[6] the additions of Sand and Lubieniecky, we believe in the reality of these secret re-unions in the neighbourhood of Venice. They appear to us quite natural, during a time of religious persecution, and under such colours that they escaped the search of the Inquisition until about 1562; and we are of opinion that they strengthened Lelio in his doubts.

Far more important changes were produced in his thought when he had become acquainted with three men whom we have already encountered in the Antitrinitarian controversies, Camillo Renato the Sicilian, Matteo Gribaldo and Bernardino Ochino. It was at Chiavenna, in 1547, that he saw the scholarly tutor of the Pallavicini family. Camillo so thoroughly imbued him with his own spiritual conception of the sacraments, that we find it almost exactly reproduced in Lelio's *De Sacramentis Dissertatio.* He had already met Gribaldo, as well as Acontius, in his father's lecture-room at Bologna,[7] and with the former he must have been on pretty intimate terms, since we find him staying several weeks at his house in Padua on his return from a visit to his family (Sept., Oct. 1553). As regards Ochino, Lelio met him for the first time in London during his travels in England in the first half of 1548. He was afterwards much in his company from the year 1555, during his two sojourns at Zürich. So close was the intimacy, that it has been said that Lelio was Ochino's evil genius, as if a young man of thirty could wield any ascendancy over a man of sixty-eight, and of the calibre of Master Bernardine. It seems to us more likely that the contrary is the truth, and that the dialectic spirit of Ochino,

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[6] *Theolog. Rev.* July, 1879, *ut sup.*, pp. 300 ff. Cf. Trechsel, vol. ii. app. i., *Die sogenannten Collegia Vicentina.*

[7] [Gribaldo was educated at Padua, where, indeed, Mariano Sozzini taught from 1526 to 1540. Where Acontius studied is unknown.]

in ceaseless quest of arduous problems, was certain to inoculate Lelio with that *quærendi pruritum* for which Calvin rebuked him in his celebrated letter of 1st January, 1552.

In fact, from 1548-49, at which time he was on the move between Zürich, Geneva and Basel, Lelio had engaged to correspond with Calvin, Bullinger and J. Wolff. In his letters he discloses his thoughts by halves. To Calvin he submits cases of conscience relating to mixed marriages, the validity of baptism administered at home, and the nature of the resurrection body; but, above all, he puts the formidable objection of the incompatibility between salvation by free grace and salvation acquired by the merits of Jesus Christ.[8] He questions Bullinger respecting the command which Jesus Christ laid on several of his disciples not to proclaim him as the Messiah, and to Bullinger he addresses in writing his Confession of Faith, by way of self-defence against the denunciations of Martinengo and Philipp Saluz.[9] But it is, above all, in his letters to J. Wolff, the successor to Bibliander in the Hebrew chair, that he propounds his doubts respecting the intrinsic and supernatural value of the sacraments and respecting the Trinity.[10] At length, after having visited Ochino in his dangerous illness of 1560, and having doubtless assisted him in the composition of his *Labyrinths* and his *Thirty Dialogues*, Lelio Sozini died at Zürich at the age of thirty-seven, protected by the venerable Bullinger against the hatred of his accusers, and leaving the reputation of one of the most powerful minds and one of the noblest hearts to which the Italian Reformation had given birth.

To sum up these scattered features of his life, and to give

[8] Calvini *Opera*, *ut sup.*, vol. xiii. pp. 1191, 1212, 1231, 1323, 1341, 1361.

[9] Trechsel, *ut sup.*, vol. ii. app. vii.

[10] *Fausti et Lælii Socini item Ernesti Soneri Tractatus aliquot Theologici, nunquam antehac in lucem editi:* Eleutheropolis (Amsterdam), 1654, p. 160.

a complete idea of Lelio Sozini as a man, before we address ourselves to him as a thinker, we cannot do better than present in this place the portrait of him which his nephew has traced with a filial sort of piety.

"Far from being wanting in religious certitude, no man ever entertained or expressed (when he judged it opportune) more exact views on all the dogmata of the Christian religion. But as he perceived that, after so great and so long a darkness, scarcely anything, save the few essentials of salvation, was restored to pristine purity in the Churches that threw off the Roman antichrist, he would not open his mind to every one, except in some controversies of small moment. This he did, for fear of troubling the Churches, and lest the weak, for whom he ever had the greatest consideration, should be offended, and perhaps drawn back again from the worship of the true God to idols; and lest the divine verity, proclaimed by a layman, should, to the great detriment of the Christian world, be rejected and spurned, from the lack of authority in its publisher.

"He saw that, in some Churches, opinions and customs were so strong, that even a murmur against them was received with execration. Therefore he thought it better now and then to propose doubts and questions to men illustrious in the Church, that in this way by degrees an approach might be made to the truth.

"For instance, these men, in consequence of his arguments, were led in the meantime to distrust the soundness of their inveterate opinions, and so they forbore from impressing them on the people as axioms of Christian religion. This he did, to avoid all offence, under the plea of a desire to be taught (probably a true plea in the outset), and always professed himself a learner, never a teacher. But he was fully sensible that this plan was not to the whole extent approved by his friends, yet would he not comply with their suggestions.

"In removing this eminent man by an untimely death, God had a purpose, which was not slow to appear; since, almost directly after his death, some part of what he had not himself the courage to teach openly, began to appear in print and to be made generally known, which, had he lived, would never perhaps

have happened. In fact, up to that time his friends were not fully imbued with his ideas, by what he had written, since he kept it to himself; and were not bold enough to make public, against their master's will, any one of the things which they had learned from him. In this way hath it pleased God to make manifest to all what He had revealed to him alone; to the end that, the darkness of ignorance being thoroughly dispelled, Christian people may begin at length with their whole mind to render unto Him faith and due obedience, and that outsiders may more readily be drawn to the true and saving knowledge of Him through Jesus Christ."[11]

If Lelio Sozini only left two or three tractates,[12] some annotations on the margins of his Bible, and about thirty letters to friends, on the other hand he had found in his nephew Fausto not only a worthy heir, but one gifted with the firmness to carry out his thoughts and his projects. In other respects, the characters of the uncle and of the nephew present a curious contrast. If Lelio was to a certain extent timid in practice, Fausto, we shall find, was proportionally firm, and sometimes hard, in social intercourse; Lelio was an ardent and generous soul, Fausto is cold and reserved even to dryness; Lelio is bold only in his thought, but docile to outside influences; Fausto is a man of statesmanlike qualities, who, while repudiating the headship of a party, possessed every fitness for the position.

Born at Siena, fifteen years after Lelio (5 Dec. 1539), Fausto Paulo Sozzini received the same education as his uncle, an education literary and legal. Losing his father in his second year, he came under the more direct influence of his mother and grandmother, Agnese Petrucci and Camilla Salvetti, his aunt and his sister; and this intercourse with women of superior mind imparted to him a high elevation of sentiment, and early inspired him with a true veneration

[11] Socini *Opera*, *ut sup.*, vol. i. 782.

[12] *Fausti et Lælii Socini . . . . tractatus*, 1654, *ut sup.*

for moral beauty. On the other hand, he professed but a mean opinion of the legal studies which were the hereditary glory of the Sozzini; and concerning Bartolo, Baldo and the like, who were the classic authors in this science at this epoch, he expresses himself in terms of contempt almost identical with those of Acontius in his letter to Wolff.[13]

Accordingly, following the example of Lelio, he started in his twenty-second year for a tour of Europe, hoping to find abroad that liberty of thought and belief which was wanting in his own country. He had, there is no doubt, entered into relations with his uncle during his last visit to Italy in 1559,[14] but, for what reason we know not, he made Lyons and Geneva his first two stopping-places. At Lyons the Italian Protestants were very numerous, and had even obtained permission to hold public worship. At Geneva, Fausto gave in his name as a member of the Italian Church, and contracted a friendship with Manfredo Balbani, the son of the Italian pastor. It was while at Lyons that he received the unexpected news of Lelio's death. He at once[15] set out for Zürich, where he was welcomed by Bernardino Ochino and the elders of the Locarnese Church, and gathered up his uncle's books and papers.

Having found amongst them a sort of paraphrase of the Proem to St. John's Gospel, which appeared to him to offer an entirely novel interpretation of the *Logos*, he published it

[13] See his letter to Scipione Bargagli, in Cantù.

[14] [It is not clear that Lelio reached Italy in 1559, though he intended to go to Venice. His last known visit to Italy was in 1552-53, which fits better with what Fausto says of his uncle's influence on him as "a young man, almost a boy." *Opp.* ii. 118.]

[15] [So says Przypcowski; but J. Wolff, writing on 23 Aug. 1562, speaks of Fausto as returning from Italy, and says he brought letters from Francesco Negri. This seems to show that, on hearing of his uncle's death, he went home, before proceeding to Zürich. See Trechsel, vol. ii. 201.]

at the request of some of his friends, but without affixing his name (1562).[16]

Did the premature death of Lelio cause some remorse to the Grand Duke Cosimo, who, three years previously, had refused him the withdrawal of the Inquisition's sequestration of his patrimony, or must the prince's change of mind be attributed to the influence of Count Celso Sozzini? It is a fact that in the following year we find Fausto employed as the Grand Duke's secretary for foreign affairs, and enjoying the favour of his daughter Isabella, Duchess of Bracciano.[17] Fausto remained in the prince's service until his death (1563—1574), and during those eleven years made outward profession of Catholicism. Let us not judge this attitude too severely; we may surmise that Fausto was not yet converted in his inmost conviction, and we may remember that Valdés and many other believers, already thoroughly persuaded of the truth of justification by faith, considered it permissible to participate in the exterior rites of the established Church. Nevertheless, the witness of Fausto, though eclipsed, was not entirely lost to the cause of the gospel. At the instigation of his patroness, Isabella de' Medici, he composed in Italian, and afterwards in Latin, an important work on the *Authority of Holy Scripture*, which is a remarkable defence of the truth of the Bible.[18]

[16] Socini *Opera: Explicatio sive Paraphrasis in Proœmium Johannis.* [Fausto distinctly says that this *Explicatio* was his own, though suggested by a few words of his uncle's manuscript. *Opp.* i. 497, ii. 640.]

[17] [This paragraph touches the most obscure points in the story of Lelio and Fausto. We gather from unpublished documents that Lelio came in for nothing under his father's will, and that any attempts of the Inquisition to interfere with the disposition of the Sozzini patrimony were at that time unsuccessful. Fausto was certainly in the service of Isabella, and spent twelve years (1563—1575) at ease in Italy, "partly at court" (*Opp.* i. 490). That he was ever in the service of the Grand Duke is not borne out by his (unpublished) letters to the Grand Dukes Francesco and Ferdinando.]

[18] *De Auctoritate S. Scripturæ*, in F. Soc. *Opp.*

However, the word of God, assiduously pondered and scrutinised by Fausto, effected in his soul a hidden working, which was sure, sooner or later, to issue in a rupture at once with the Roman tradition and with all human authority. The publication of Girolamo Zanchi's book, *De tribus Elohim*, a learned defence of the doctrine of the Trinity (in the Preface to which the anonymous tract of 1562 on the Proem of St. John is attributed to Lelio Sozini, and treated as an "impious interpretation," "a Samosatenian heresy"), appears to have been the decisive occasion of this rupture. From that time Fausto had but one thought—to avenge the memory of his uncle, which had been undeservedly outraged, and boldly to scatter the darkness of prejudice and error which obscured the truth in all quarters, including even the Protestant Churches. On the death of the Grand Duke Cosimo (1574),[19] Fausto refused all the honours and riches which were offered him, and, bound only by the promise made to his benefactress that he would preserve the anonymous in his publications, bade farewell to Florence.

This time Fausto took up his residence at Basel, where he remained about three years, doubtless induced to stay by the liberty which men of letters there enjoyed, by the presence of some members of his family, and by the attractive society of several friends,—Manfredo Balbani, Francesco Betti, the friend of Acontius, Giovanni Francesco Castiglione, and Girolamo Marliano. Here it was that he had the good fortune to obtain possession of the manuscripts left by Sebastian Castellio, some of which he published shortly after with an important Preface.

While there he also engaged in two controversies which led to the publication of two of his works. The first of these, in which he was engaged with Jacques Couet, then a divinity student, and afterwards minister of the French

[19] [It was after the death of Isabella in 1576 that he wrote from Basel, courteously excusing himself from entering the service of Francesco.]

Church at Basel, gave him the opportunity of developing his ideas on the satisfaction of Christ in his celebrated work, *De Jesu Christo Servatore*, which for a long time circulated as an anonymous manuscript, before being printed with his name (1594).

He held the second of these controversies with Francesco Pucci, a young Florentine refugee, who denied the utility of any visible church, and maintained the necessity of a new revelation, and the natural immortality of the soul. On this last point Fausto held the opposite thesis, and published it in his *De Statu Primi Hominis ante Lapsum.*[20]

Called (1578) by Dr. Giorgio Biandrata to Kolozsvár in Transylvania, there to defend the usage of the invocation of Jesus Christ in prayer, which was being attacked by Bishop Ferencz Dávid, Fausto Sozzini eventually took up his abode at Kraków, and there married Elzbieta, daughter of Krzysztof Morsztyn. He spent there nearly twenty years, engaged in his works on the Bible, and in the propagation of his ideas among the churches of Poland. But the publication of his *De Jesu Christo Servatore* having given rise to a popular disturbance, in which his house was pillaged and himself much maltreated, he sought a last asylum in the house of his friend Abraham Blonski at Luslawice. He died there at the age of sixty-five (4 March, 1604), in peace with God, and in the conviction that he had worked for the advancement of Christ's kingdom on earth.

The parallel which we have instituted between the lives of the two founders of Socinianism has already brought into relief the contrast of their characters. That of their doctrines is less marked, and for an excellent reason, namely, that their point of view is the same—to accept, as true, only that which is in conformity with Scripture when interpreted by

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[20] For information about Pucci, who studied at Oxford (1572—1574), see Gordon, *Theol. Rev.* Oct. 1879, pp. 549—551.

sound reason, and, as essential to salvation, only that which is instrumental in obtaining eternal life. But if they agree in the principle, how widely do they differ in their methods of propounding and disseminating it! Lelio to a large extent practises the system of accommodation recommended by his master, Ochino, and sows the seeds of his ideas in the shape of questions, marks of interrogation, applying already the Cartesian doubt. Fausto, on the contrary, strikes full in the face of all the orthodox dogmata, which he considers as so much refuse of Roman superstition. The ideas of the former appear uncertain and incoherent—*portentosa* (monstrosities) as Calvin calls them—because he gives them out only in fragments, and in the form of antinomies; while those of Fausto present themselves as a system thoroughly digested and all of a piece. Let us make this difference clear by a few examples.

In the first place, with respect to the dogma of expiation, Lelio only brings out the contradiction between these two propositions—*first*, salvation is offered to us without price by the grace of God; *second*, it was necessary for Jesus Christ to expiate our sins by his merits, in order to satisfy the justice of God and gain for us eternal salvation. Calvin having answered him that the merits of Jesus Christ are to be viewed as coming under the category of God's good pleasure, and that this unpurchased character of salvation can only be properly opposed to our own merits, and to all acts of human righteousness, Lelio professed himself satisfied with this solution, closely conformed to that of Duns Scotus.[21] It did not satisfy the matter-of-fact and logical mind of Fausto. In his *De Jesu Christo Servatore*, he utterly demolishes the doctrine of "vicarious satisfaction." In his view, Jesus Christ came to reconcile, not God to men, but men to God. All that Jesus said or did which was divine, he did in virtue of the

[21] Calvini *Opera*, vol. x. 160, *Consilia Dogmatica*.

grace conferred upon him by his Father. His special functions were those of a prophet and a king, and not that of a high-priest. If he died, it was to seal with his blood the truth of his revelations, and not to appease the wrath of an ever good and merciful God.

This leads us to the second point which engages our attention, that of the divinity of Christ. Lelio allows to Jesus the titles of Messiah or Christ; Son of God, unique (but not eternal),[22] and Word of God, who was incarnate in the womb of the Virgin (in accordance with the Apostles' Creed). But already for Lelio, Jesus is, above all, "our sweet crucified one" and "our precursor;" that is to say, the one who has pointed to us, through suffering, the way which leads to life eternal.[23] Fausto Sozzini emphasises still more the humanity of Christ; in his eyes Jesus Christ is *verus homo* (he does not say *purus homo*). He accords divinity to him, in the same sense in which he also admits his miraculous and immaculate conception, and the incarnation of the Word of God in him, namely, to the end that he might be enabled to fulfil his prophetic and regal offices; but he refuses to him participation in essential and eternal deity. And, above all, he insists on this, that Jesus was truly our brother, having shared the same evils and the same death that we do, in order that, by his passion, he might serve as example to us, and that, by his resurrection, he might give evidence of the life and immortality which await us. Let us note, in pass-

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[22] [It does not appear that Lelio expressly affirmed or denied the eternal Sonship. In his Confession of Faith (15 July, 1555), he calls Christ "our eternal God, Judge, Deliverer, Lord and King."]

[23] Trechsel, vol. ii. app. x. "*Non dubbitate punto, che, se hora di spine col nostro dolce crocifisso, un giorno e tosto di vera e triomphante gloria saremo coronati. . . . In somma, viviamo di maniera . . . da noi rendasi . . . honore . . . al nostro Padre e Dio, per il Signor Christo Jesu, nostro precursore.*" Letter from Lelio to the Church at Locarno (1555).

ing, this singular opinion of Fausto, doubtless borrowed from Pomponazzi's book, that the soul is mortal in its nature, and only acquires immortality by the power of the Holy Spirit, effecting in us, through faith, a new creature.[24]

Lastly, let us observe the attitude of the two Sozzini in regard to the dogma of the Trinity. Lelio, in his letter to Wolff, raises two objections against the Trinity. The first is directed against the separate personality of the Holy Spirit: "In this saying of Jesus, 'God is a Spirit,' the term 'spirit' is taken in the sense of spiritual essence. Now if God is tripersonal, this attribute must belong to the three persons." In that case, Lelio asks if the Holy Spirit ought to be otherwise conceived of than as spiritual essence. The second objection is this: Lelio asks himself how the expression, "Jesus is Son of God," ought to be understood. If God is tripersonal, we should have to conclude thence that the man Jesus is Son of the Trinity; for he is a creature, and overt actions of the Trinity are not distributable among the persons.[25]

It even appears that in his conversations with members of the Italian Church at Geneva, Lelio went so far as to treat the Trinity as a sort of tripartite chimera, and gloried in being the new giant who should overturn this tower.[26] And yet, in defending himself to Bullinger, he declared that he

[24] *Fausti et Lælii Socini . . . . tractatus, ut sup. (Summa Religionis Christianæ, a F. Socino conscripta).* [Sozzini's exact doctrine is as follows. A man is a union of three constituents: body, anima (the force by which we live and feel), and animus (the force by which we think). Death separates these constituents, and, in so doing, dissolves the man. The body returns to earth; the anima ceases to have independent existence, and returns to the Fountain of life; the animus *possibly* retains a separate existence, but can in no case be called a man. Only in the case of some will there be that glorified re-union of the constituents, never to be again severed, which constitutes immortality.]

[25] *Hottingersche Sammlung*, at Zürich, v. 332. See Appendix XIII.

[26] Trechsel, vol. ii. 180, n. (Letter from Martinengo to Bullinger). [The reference is not to himself, but to Servetus.]

abhorred Sabellianism, Tritheism and Arianism, and entrenches himself behind the authority of the Scriptures and the Apostles' Creed.[27]

How much more frank and unequivocal is the attitude of Fausto Sozzini! Pursuing the method of Acontius, he begins by classifying the question of the nature of God among the truths that are profitable, but non-essential to salvation. Then he demonstrates that the Trinity is contrary at once to Scripture and to reason. To Scripture, because nowhere is the Holy Spirit expressly called God, and because the term God, when applied to the Son, is taken in the sense of holding his power of the Almighty or participating in the Divine majesty, as in several passages in the Old Testament. Reason, for her part, repels the doctrine: 1. Because the divine unity and the triplicity of persons involve a contradiction; 2. Because division of persons is incompatible with the perfection of being; 3. Because the eternal generation of the Son is irreconcilable with perfect equality. And he concludes that in the essence of God there is but one sole person, the Father of our Saviour Jesus Christ.[28]

Such is the gradation which marked Antitrinitarian criticism in its passage from Lelio to Fausto Sozzini; and when we recall the previous stages of this theological process, which begins with Erasmus and Michael Servetus, and pursues its course in the Anabaptists of the Low Countries and the "pseudo-evangelicals" of London, we shall be able to judge of the ascending scale and victorious march of the Unitarian movement.

England was a field fully prepared for receiving the Socinian ideas. Ochino had broken the clods, Acontius had ploughed the furrows, Corranus had watered the ground; nothing now was wanted but to sow the seed. God confided

[27] Hottinger, *Ecc. Hist. N. T.* (1667) vol. ix. sec. xvi. 2, pp. 417 ff.

[28] Socini *Opera*, vol. i. 652. Cf. Racovian Catechism. See Appendix XIV.

this task to agents of every sort, both conscious and mechanical.

The first was Lelio Sozini. We do not dwell on the importance of his visit to London in 1548. In fact, he was then only twenty-three years of age, and made but a stay of a few months. Attended by all the prestige which belonged to the name of the Sozzini, he was probably presented by Ochino at the court of Edward VI. What a charm, at any rate, must he not have exercised over his fellow-countrymen at Austin Friars! And if we bear in mind that, in the following year, Hooper apprises Bullinger of the appearance of the first who denied the divinity of Jesus Christ, it is impossible to withhold from Lelio Sozini his share in the evolution of English extra-Trinitarian theology.[29] This influence was principally exerted through the numerous English exiles at Geneva and Zürich, during the reign of Mary Tudor, who maintained relations with Lelio. These were the picked men of the English clergy and nobility, as we may judge from those who signed the Letter addressed to the Council of Zürich.[30] Among them we may mention Sir Richard Morison and the Earl of Bedford, whom Lelio doubtless met at the house of Ochino, whose patrons they had been; and especially a certain John Burcher, "a great lover of the Zürichers," and a bold antagonist of the Jews and the Jesuits, who appears in the Zürich letters as an ultra-Puritan, and who ended by taking orders in the Anglican Church and obtaining a living near London.[31] Perhaps also we should place among the first disciples of Socinianism in England, Dr. Raphael Ritter, a Londoner by birth, who, about 1575, published a *Brevis Demonstratio, quod Christus non sit ipse*

[29] Trechsel (Letter from Lelio Sozini to Bullinger, from Basel, 19 July, 1549, on his return from England), vol. ii. appendix.

[30] Moerikofer, *ut. sup.*, appendix.

[31] *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser., Letters 294 and 333.

Deus qui Pater, nec ei æqualis; and Bartholomew Legate, who was condemned to the stake as an Arian by James I. in 1612.

But the most powerful missionary of Socinianism in England was the press, which, under cover of the troubles which preceded and followed the fall of Charles I., enjoyed an extraordinary freedom.[32] And even before the English press could print Antitrinitarian books with impunity, the printing-presses of Zaslaw, Wilno and Raków, in Poland, and later those of Lübeck and Amsterdam, inundated Great Britain with Socinian works, translated into Latin for the use of English readers. In 1609 appeared the first Latin edition of the Catechism of the Unitarian Churches of Poland and Lithuania, better known under the name of the *Racovian Catechism*, and translated from the Polish by Jeromos Moskorzowski of Moskorzów, with a highly eulogistic dedication to the King of England, James I.[33] This dedication proves that the edition was especially intended for the English, but it did not preserve the little duodecimo from the fury of the guardians of English orthodoxy; it was publicly burnt in 1614.

Happily for the truth, governments cannot burn ideas. They rise anew, in stronger life than ever, even from the ashes of the books which had first offered them to the world's view. The Unitarian ideas made their way, by channels secret yet sure, among the enlightened classes of the English nation.[34] Under the reign of Charles I., they found a shield in the Latitudinarian party, which, inspired by the

[32] [No avowedly Antitrinitarian books were printed in England with impunity before 1687.]

[33] *Catechesis Ecclesiarum quæ, in Regno Poloniæ et Magno Ducatu Lithuaniæ. . . . ante annos quatuor Polonicè, nunc verò etiam Latinè edita:* Racoviæ, 1609.

[34] For the remainder of this, and for the following chapter, see Robt. Wallace, *ut. sup.*, vol. i. *Historical Introduction.*

principles of Acontius, aimed at the limitation of fundamental doctrines to those which are strictly essential. One of the three leaders of the Latitudinarian party, Lucius Carey, Lord Falkland, having received some writings of Fausto Sozzini from his chaplain, Dr. Hugh Cressy, of Oxford, "was so extremely taken and satisfied with them, that," notwithstanding the opposition of his mother, who was a Catholic, "from that time was his conversion" to Socinianism. Some years afterwards, the great champion of the Trinity, Francis Cheynell, found an English translation of a Socinian book in the chamber of John Webberley, B.D., Fellow and sub-Rector of Lincoln College. This discovery was made in the course of a Parliamentary visitation of the University, the chief commissioner being Viscount Say and Seale, to whom Cheynell dedicated his work entitled, "The Rise, Growth and Danger of Socinianisme" (1643). John Webberley, who was imprisoned and expelled the University for resisting the action of the visitors, translated several Socinian works, among which was a "Socinian Masterpeece." He had rendered it "into English, for the benefit of this Nation, and prepared it for the presse." Webberley, seeking refuge perhaps at Amsterdam, and William Hamilton, making his way to Franeker, continued to employ themselves in disseminating their ideas. In 1651, the second Latin edition of the *Racovian Catechism* was printed in London, and the first English translation of it was printed at Amsterdam in 1652. A year later, Richard Moone, at the Seven Stars, in St. Paul's Churchyard, published English translations of certain tracts, written by the Polish Socinians: *A Brief Enquiry touching a better Way then is commonly made use of, to refute Papists*, &c., by Joachim Stegmann, the elder;[35] *The Life of that Incomparable Man, Faustus Socinus*

[35] [*Brevis Disquisitio, an et quomodo vulgò dicti Evangelici, Pontificios . . . . solidè atque evidenter refutare queant*, 1633.]

Senensis, described by a Polonian Knight, i.e. Samuel Przypcowski; and, lastly, *A Discourse touching the Peace & Concord of the Church, &c.*, by the same author. These translations are attributed to John Bidle. From this time (1653) Socinian publications had a rapid run with the English public up to the end of the century. In 1731 the Rev. Edward Coombe ventured to publish an English translation of the *De Auctoritate S. Scripturæ* of Fausto Sozzini, with a dedication to Queen Caroline. It was re-issued in 1732.

Moreover, Unitarian ideas began to assume an organised form in 1644, and were impersonated in some few knots of religious separatists. In London, in 1644, a preacher at a religious society in Bell Alley declared that "though Christ was a prophet and did miracles, yet he was not God;" and near Coleman Street there was a society denying the divinity of Christ, under the leadership of a certain Welshman. Four years later, Rev. John Goodwin, who had opened an Independent chapel for the setting forth of Arminian doctrines, wrote these beautiful words in the Epistle prefixed to his translation of the first four books of the *Stratagemata* of Acontius:

"In vain do they blow a trumpet to prepare the Magistrate to battle against Errors and Heresies, whilest they leave the judgments and consciences of men armed with confidence of truth in them. If men would call more for light, and less for fire from heaven, their warfare against such enemies would be much sooner accomplished. For he that denied the one, hath promised the other (Prov. ii. 3, 4, 5; Jam. i. 5). And amongst all weapons, there is none like unto light to fight against darkness. But whilest men arm themselves against Satan with the material sword, they do but insure his victory and triumph."[36]

Finally, John Bidle, M.A., Oxon., and Thomas Lushington, B.D., Oxon., did their utmost by their writings to under-

[36] Wallace, vol. i. 101.

mine the popular belief in the Trinity. They digested the Acontian and Socinian ideas, adapting them to the practical and philanthropic character of the Anglo-Saxons, and thus became the first native organs of Unitarianism in England.

CHAPTER X.

Influence of the Anglo-Saxon genius on the development of English Unitarian Christianity: Bidle and Firmin.—Relations with the Latitudinarians, the Quakers, the New-Arians.—Milton, Locke and Newton.

We now return from the tour of Europe which we undertook in our search for the sources of English Unitarianism, after having established the position that it had not its original roots in British soil. We have traversed all the countries which held relations with Great Britain in the matter of religious ideas, the Low Countries and Germany, Switzerland and Italy, Spain and Poland; we have interrogated in turn Anabaptists and Quakers, Episcopalians and Puritans, and we arrive at this conclusion. The first shoots of Unitarian Christianity budded in Italy, where Michael Servetus sowed, or whence perhaps he derived, the seed. Uprooted by the tempest of the Inquisition, these plants took fresh root in the hospitable valleys of Switzerland, and driven off once more by the blast of intolerance which stirred most of the churches, seeds were carried, some to the coasts of Britain, others to the steppes of Poland and the mountains of Transylvania. It was in the spring of 1550 that the first Unitarian party made its appearance in the Strangers' Church in London; and from that time, fostered by the utterances of such men as Ochino, Acontius, Corranus and the Sozzini, it did not cease to grow until it reached such proportions that it could free itself from all foreign influence, and assume its proper and original character, its idiosyncrasy,

so to speak. At present, then, what we have to do is to examine, first, the mode in which the Anglo-Saxon genius has assimilated the Unitarian doctrine, that completely Latin conception; and next to inquire how it has applied it in the practical work of the Church.

Let us mark, at the outset, the transformation which the Acontian and Socinian ideas have undergone, in passing through the medium of the acknowledged Fathers of English Unitarianism, Bidle, Hamilton, Firmin, and the like.

"With the exception of a slender intermittent stream of Servetianism," says Mr. Gordon, "which in England at least has never attained the proportions or the influence of a school of theology, Liberal Christianity has always owed the largest debt to the Socinian impulse. . . . . that exotic theology which, with the necessary modifications, the learned Bidle, and later on the gentle Lindsey, exerted themselves to plant on English soil as a Unitarian Church."[1] This enterprise was begun with translations; but these versions were not literal, and bore already the traces of doctrinal modifications, the work of the translators.

Thus it is that William Hamilton, some time Fellow of All Souls', Oxford, the presumable translator of the *Racovian Catechism* (1652), naively avows having made changes from the Latin original, to suit the taste of the English reader.[2] Some time before, Thomas Lushington (d. 1661), of Pembroke College, Oxford, chaplain to Charles I., had translated the Commentaries of Johann Krell, the elder; and of Jonas Schlichting on the Epistle to the Hebrews, and that of the former on the Epistle to the Galatians (1647—1650), not,

[1] *Theol. Rev.* Oct. 1879, pp. 532, 533.

[2] [No such avowal appears, though the changes are made; but Webberley, in his Epistle prefixed to the unknown "Socinian Master-peece," stated, according to Cheynell, "that Socinianisme was to be corrected and chastised with respect to the nature of our climate."]

however, without additions and alterations.[3] It was also from the writings of the learned divine of Raków (Krell) that Bidle drew his Unitarian theories.

John Bidle, born at Wotton-under-Edge, in Gloucestershire, 14 Jan. 1616 (d. 1662), M.A., Oxon., and master of the Free-school in the parish of St. Mary de Crypt at Gloucester, experienced his first doubts concerning the Trinity while reading the Bible, without having, as yet, opened any Socinian book. Denounced by some false brethren, and removed from his office, he was cited before a Parliamentary Committee sitting at Westminster, and openly denied the Deity of the Holy Spirit.[4]

After languishing in suspense for sixteen months, ten of which he spent in close custody, and being unable to obtain either a hearing or a discharge, Bidle decided to make an appeal to public opinion, and printed his Letter to Sir Henry Vane, along with *XII Arguments drawn out of the Scripture: wherein the commonly received Opinion touching the Deity of the Holy Spirit is clearly and fully Refuted* (1647).

In his Letter to Vane, Bidle declares that he believes "the Holy Spirit to be the chief of all ministering spirits, peculiarly sent out from heaven to minister on their behalf that shall inherit salvation. . . . As there is one principal spirit among the evil angels, known in Scripture by the name of Satan, ... even so is there one principal Spirit among the good angels, called by the name of the . . . . Holy Spirit." Parliament ordered the suppression of Bidle's pamphlet, had it burnt by the hangman, and, the following year (2 May, 1648), passed an Ordinance "for the punishing of Blasphemies and Heresies," declaring the denial of the Trinity equivalent to the crime of felony, and making it punishable by death. Others would have given way to such menaces; the dauntless prisoner at Westminster issued from

[3] Wallace, vol. iii. art. 284.

[4] *Ibid.* vol. iii. art. 285.

his cell two fresh works: *A Confession of Faith touching the Holy Trinity according to the Scripture*, and *The Testimonies of Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Novatianus, Theophilus, Origen . . . . as also of Arnobius, Lactantius, Eusebius, Hilary and Brightman, concerning that One God, and the Persons of the Holy Trinity*, &c. (1648). We must not mistake this display of patristic authorities; Bidle, at the close, carefully tells us that he has only invoked the testimony of the Fathers in order to pursue his adversaries on their own ground. For, says he, though they "lay aside this plea when they have to do with Papists . . . . yet do they take it up again, in a manner waving the Scripture, when they argue with me." Now in Bidle's eyes there is no other rule in matters of faith but Holy Scripture, and, in case of controversy respecting the sense of Scripture, no other authorised interpreter but reason.

For a short period Bidle obtained his liberty, only however to be cast into Newgate by President Bradshaw. At length set free, after (in all) six years' imprisonment, thanks to the Act of Oblivion of 10 Feb. 1652, Bidle began to meet his friends every Sunday, and expounded the Scriptures to them in the sense of the Socinian Commentaries, translated in part by Lushington, and the *Racovian Catechism*.

He himself was not satisfied with all the articles of this Catechism; for he published, two years after the appearance of its English translation, a *Twofold Catechism: the One simply called A Scripture-Catechism; the Other, A brief Scripture-Catechism for Children*. The work was drawn up in the form of questions, with "answers taken word for word out of the Scripture, without either consequences or comments." This book, which also had the honour of being burnt, cost its author a three years' banishment to the Scilly Isles. On being allowed to return, he at once resumed his meetings. For a short time he was persuaded to retire into the country; but, on venturing back, the unfortunate Bidle was again arrested at his lodgings in London, and sentenced to lie in

prison until he had paid a fine of one hundred pounds. In a few weeks he died (22 Sept. 1662), from want of fresh air and wholesome nourishment, a true martyr of the Unitarian faith.

Little did he imagine that he would have a leading continuator of his work in the person of that same Rev. John Cooper[5] who had been appointed in his stead to the Mastership of the Crypt Free-school at Gloucester. Cooper was one of the two thousand Presbyterian clergymen ejected by the Act of Uniformity; he became the first minister of a Unitarian congregation at Cheltenham, which he served faithfully for twenty years (1662—1682), being a model of virtue and charity to his flock.

Bidle also left disciples at London, such as Rev. John Knowles,[6] whose moral courage cost him his liberty; and young Nathaniel Stuckey,[7] who had translated into Latin Bidle's *Twofold Catechism*, publishing along with it a short piece of his own on the death of Christ, and was giving tokens of the greatest promise, when, at sixteen years of age, he was carried off by the Great Plague of London (1665).

In that same year appeared the translation of Johann Krell's principal work, *De uno Deo patre*, with the English title, *The Two Books of John Crellius, Francus, touching One God the Father*, &c. In this treatise the author not only affirmed the strict unipersonality of God the Father, but elucidated also the uncompounded nature of the Son of God, and that of the Holy Spirit. Under the pseudonym of "Kosmoburg" we recognise the cosmopolitan city of London, and in the "Sign of the Sunbeams" we detect the publisher Richard Moone at the "Seven Stars," who for twenty years had published nearly all the translations of Socinian treatises.

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[5] Wallace, vol. iii. art. 350.

[6] *Ibid.* vol. iii. art. 287.

[7] *Ibid.* vol. iii. art. 344.

The English Unitarians, at this time, were in frequent communication with the Polish Brethren, and especially with the Krell family. Christoph, the second son of Johann Krell, pastor of a congregation of Polish exiles at Friedrichsburg in Silesia, twice visited England (1666 and 1668); and, having become a widower, confided the education of a son and a daughter to Nathaniel Stuckey's mother, who had offered to take charge of them, in memory of her beloved son, cut off in the flower of his age. Christoph's son, Samuel Krell,[8] thus educated in London, and subsequently in the Arminian Gymnasium at Amsterdam, became later on minister at Kœnigswald, near Frankfort-on-the-Oder, but revisited England several times, and was in communication with many illustrious men, including Tillotson, the celebrated Archbishop of Canterbury, and the great Newton. Thus did the disciples of Bidle, encouraged by that feeling of a common cause which united them to the Unitarians of Prussia and the Arminians of Holland, continue his work, undeterred by the menaces of the most terrifying edicts, notably the Conventicle Act.

But the most active and most successful advocate of the Unitarian cause, after Bidle, was a layman, Thomas Firmin,[9] whose name, and sympathies for the victims of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, betray a French origin. He was a mercer, and had a large place of business in Lombard Street, London. While still quite young, he had directed his good offices to mitigate at least, if he could not cut short, the captivity of Bidle. He had been one of the assiduous hearers of the first Unitarian minister in London, as well as of Rev. John Goodwin, the Arminian translator of the *Stratagemata;* and during Bidle's exile, he had even begun to disseminate Unitarianism on his own account. Nevertheless, after the death

[8] Wallace, vol. iii. art. 358.

[9] *Ibid.* vol. iii. art. 353. Cf. vol. i. 151.

of Bidle, Firmin was an attendant at the services of the Established Church, and maintained friendly relations with several of the clergy of that Church, including Dr. Benjamin Whichcote, Provost of King's College, Cambridge; Dr. John Worthington, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge; and, above all, Dr. Tillotson, who afterwards became Archbishop of Canterbury. Theophilus Lindsey has keenly reproached him with this compromise between his Unitarian principles and those of a Church which had officially condemned them.[10] He views it as a betrayal of principle, due to the fear of the penalties decreed by the Act of Uniformity (1662) and the Conventicle Act (1664). A less severe judgment will be passed on this attitude of Firmin, if allowance is made for two circumstances: first, that Firmin was a layman, who had not been bound by any ecclesiastical obligation, and who, like Acontius, professed little admiration for religious sects and coteries; and, secondly, that most of the higher clergy in the Anglican Church were at that time imbued with Arminian and Latitudinarian ideas—witness Archbishop Tillotson, who in his letter to Bishop Burnet, speaking of the Athanasian Creed, remarks, "I wish we were well rid of it."[11] With bishops thus broad-minded, our Unitarian might well feel at his ease, and that without sacrificing an iota of his principles. He employed in the service of this cause two means, which, having no tinge of ecclesiasticism, were so much the more powerful in moving public opinion, which in England was prejudiced already against anything that savoured of "clerical cant." These were, an intelligent and inclusive philanthropy, and an incomparable talent for public affairs. Thomas Firmin was the first to respond, in 1662, to the appeal of Unitarian

[10] Theoph. Lindsey, *An Historical View of the State of the Unitarian Doctrine and Worship*, London, 1783, 8vo, chap. v. 295.

[11] Wallace, vol. i. 275.

Protestants of Poland, driven from their country by the intrigues of the Jesuits, and abandoned by the cowardice of the Lutherans and Calvinists. And when, in 1680-81, the interference with the Edict of Nantes cast hundreds of French refugees on the shores of Great Britain, it was Firmin again who headed the subscription list, and who was charged, by the unanimous confidence of the donors, with the delicate office of treasurer.[12]

Firmin's charity, like that of the good Samaritan, was extended to all, even to his adversaries in religion; but he was at times ill requited for his generosity, as is shown by the anti-Socinian pamphlet of Lamothe. This ingratitude did not discourage him, any more than the edicts against Antitrinitarian books intimidated him, and he it was who gave a considerable impulse to Unitarian publications.

He had already, in 1665, caused the English version of the *De uno Deo Patre*, by Johann Krell, the elder, to be printed at his own cost, and he had perhaps a hand in the translation. In 1689 he had to do with the publication of *The Naked Gospel*, by Arthur Bury, D.D. This Latitudinarian clergyman propounded in the work just named an eirenical theory, very like that of Acontius and F. Sozzini, respecting the small number of articles which are really fundamental and universal, his aim being to serve the project, attributed to William III., of uniting all the English sects in one Church. In 1691 was published, at Firmin's expense, a volume which contained the first series of *Unitarian Tracts*, and in this were reprinted the principal writings of John Bidle. The second series, which appeared about 1693, was composed of tracts all relating to the doctrine of the Trinity and the questions which it raises. The third was published at the end of 1695, while Firmin was still living; and the fourth some years after his death.

[12] Wallace, vol. i. 149, 176, iii. 376.

These three or four volumes, known as the old *Unitarian Tracts*,[13] played an important part in the celebrated Trinitarian controversy engaged in by Drs. Sherlock, South and Wallis, at the close of the seventeenth century; and it may be said that, in the absence of a constituted Unitarian Church, they were the means by which Unitarian ideas made their way into the bosom of the Anglican Church.

In fact, as Mr. Albert Réville justly remarks, the real influence of Unitarianism must not be measured by the size of its churches or by the number of their members. Faithful to the thought of their Italian precursors, Acontius and the Sozzini, the first English Unitarians thought much less of founding new churches than of completing within the older churches the unfinished reformation of the Romish dogmatic system.

We have already noted the friendly relations of Thomas Firmin with many high dignitaries of the Anglican Church. During several years (1668—1670) he was on terms not less good with the reformers of Quakerism, William Penn and Robert Barclay.[14] In 1668, William Penn published a book entitled *The Sandy Foundation Shaken*. Relying on the testimony of the Scriptures and right reason, Penn refutes in this work "those so generally believed and applauded Doctrines of One God, subsisting in three distinct and separate Persons; the Impossibility of God's pardoning Sinners, without a plenary Satisfaction; the Justification of impure Persons by an imputative Righteousness." The book entailed a seven months' imprisonment on its author; but, on the other hand, it was warmly welcomed by the Unitarians, who found in it many of their cherished ideas, including Bidle's two-fold principle, the Scripture as interpreted by reason. Their delight was of no long duration. The moment the leaders of Quakerism, William Penn and George Whitehead

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[13] Wallace, vol. i. 219, 331, &c.

[14] *Ibid.* vol. i. 160—169.

realised that they were being taken for disciples of Sozzini and Bidle, they retracted. Penn, during his imprisonment, published his pamphlet, *Innocency with her Open Face* (1669), in which he confessed his faith in God, who is an eternal Spirit; in the only Son of God, who took upon him flesh: and in the Holy Spirit, that proceeds from the Father and the Son. "He that has one has all, for 'these three are one,' who is the Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, God over all, blessed for ever."

Robert Barclay, again, in his famous *Apology for the True Christian Divinity* (1676), of which a sketch has been given (Chap. I. pp. 35, 36), reaches the same result as Penn; that is, a conception of the Trinity verging on that of Sabellius, and the denial of the imputation of Adam's sin and of predestination. Henceforth there was a rupture between the Quakers and the Unitarians, the latter accusing the former, not without reason, of having contradicted themselves in the course of a few years. We have but one point gained, namely, that both parties rejected the Athanasian Creed, in which they had Archbishop Tillotson as a confederate.

The relations of the English Unitarians with the theologians who inclined to Arianism were more sympathetic, but still did not amount to a fusion. Thus Christoph Sand, the younger, in his *Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum* (published posthumously at Amsterdam, 1684), erected a veritable monument to the glory of the unipersonal God; but, taking his stand on the authority of the Fathers anterior to the Council of Nicæa, this author professed faith in an eternal and pre-existent Christ.

Dr. Samuel Clarke, again, coadjutor and friend of the great Newton, confided to him his doubts as to the apostolicity of the Trinitarian doctrine, and published his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* in 1712. In it he exhibits a biblical erudition and a freedom of inquiry which greatly scandalised many of the orthodox (as may be seen in Voltaire's *Letters*

on the English); but, to Newton's great regret, his conclusions were identical with those of Sand, that is to say, they bordered on Arianism. But what proves the radiating force of the Unitarian idea in England towards the end of the seventeenth century, still more than the voluntary or involuntary concessions of the Quakers and the New-Arians, is the real, if not avowed, adhesion given to it by three of the greatest English geniuses of this epoch, Milton, Locke and Newton.

This testimony, however, is shorn of some of its glory by the fact that these great minds did not make known their religious opinions during their lives. Yet, if a posthumous avowal takes from the courage and magnanimity of the witnesses, it leaves untouched the worth of the testimony. Nay, these affirmations of the personal unity of God, which seem to come from beyond the tomb, carry for this very reason all the more weight and solemnity.

Every one knows Milton the poet; some few know Milton the politician; scarcely any know Milton the theologian.[15] John Milton (1608—1674) was a profoundly religious soul. Trained by a father who had been disinherited on account of his Protestantism, and by a mother rich in good works, he acquired for himself a faith resting on St. Paul's principle, "Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." He is supposed to have inspired Oliver Cromwell, whose Latin secretary he was, with all the measures relating to the liberty of conscience, of the press and of public worship, which were carried into effect during the Protectorate.

For his own part, disgusted with the narrowness and the disputes of most of the Churches, whether Established or Nonconformist, Milton attended no house of prayer, and rendered to God a solitary worship. "Every morning,"

[15] Wallace, vol. iii. art. 345. Cf. Lichtenberger's *Encyclopedie*, art. Stroehlin on *Milton*.

M. Taine tells us, in the beautiful pages he has devoted to him, "Milton had a chapter read to him from the Hebrew Bible, and remained some time in grave silence, in order to meditate on what he had heard." That was his prayer. Was not that also a prayer—and one of the most beautiful that ever issued from human lips—the magnificent invocation which is found at the close of his *Reformation in England* (1641)?

It begins with these words: "Thou, therefore, that sittest in light and glory unapproachable, Parent of angels and men! next, thee I implore, omnipotent King, Redeemer of that lost remnant whose nature thou didst assume, ineffable and everlasting Love! and thou, the third subsistence of divine infinitude, illumining Spirit, the joy and solace of created things! one Tripersonal Godhead! look upon this thy poor and almost spent and expiring church."

In this hymn, as in his two poems, *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, Milton still preserves the Trinitarian phraseology, although already with a very pronounced Arian tinge. But in his posthumous work, *De Doctrina Christiana, ex Sacris duntaxat Libris petita*, which for a century and a half was buried among the State Papers,[16] the great poet gives his final word on this question in the following terms: "The Israelites under the law and the prophets always understood that God is numerically One, that beside Him there is no other, much less any equal. . . . . Proceeding to the New Testament, we find its testimony no less clear, ... inasmuch as it testifies that the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is that One God."[17] His conception of the Son is Arian, and of the Holy Spirit the same as Bidle's.

[16] See the history of the discovery of this manuscript in Wallace, vol. iii. art. 345. It was discovered in 1823 by Mr. Lemon, Deputy-Keeper of the Records, in an envelope addressed to Mr. Skinner, merchant, and was published by order of George IV. in 1825.

[17] See Appendix XV.

If Milton, that bold and uncompromising republican whom no misfortune, no menace, was able to bend, recoiled from the publication of his Antitrinitarian dogmatics, we need feel no astonishment that men of a peaceful disposition, and who occupied official positions, hesitated to avow opinions which would have drawn them within the calamitous arena of controversy. Such was the case with Locke and Newton, who were united in the bonds of a close friendship and a Christian sympathy. Nevertheless,[18] in point of courage in the expression of his opinions, Locke stands above Newton; for, after much wavering, he ventured to publish, under the veil of the anonymous, a treatise entitled *The Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in the Scriptures* (1695).

In this book, Locke (1632—1704) sets himself to prove, Bible in hand, that the fundamental truth preached by the apostles was the Messiahship of Jesus Christ, and that every man who admits that has a right to the name of Christian. Beyond this, he says not a word of the Trinity, or of the divinity of Jesus Christ. But in his *Adversaria Theologica*, the manuscript of which was found among his papers by Lord King, and published long after his death, Locke is much more explicit. In it he arranges parallel columns of passages for and against the Trinity, and makes the balance evidently lean to the side of Unitarianism. Lastly, the author of the *Essay of Human Understanding* clearly betrays his Unitarian opinions in his letters to the Arminian Philipp van Limborch, grand-nephew of Episcopius, to whom he avows his doubts on the principal dogmata of orthodoxy, as well as in his controversy with Dr. John Edwards, who, having pierced the veil of the anonymous author, had treated him as a Socinian. Locke repels this appellation, sheltering himself behind the authority of the Apostles' Creed, saying it is

[18] Wallace, vol. iii. art. 356.

"well for the compilers of that Creed that they lived not in Mr. Edwards's days; for he would, no doubt, have found them 'all over Socinianized.'"

And now, how is the reserve of a Newton[19] (1642—1724) to be explained? The explanation is, that men differ in assortment of qualities even more than in mental rank, and that character does not always keep pace with genius. It is well known that this great man was as timid in his actions as he was bold in his scientific conceptions. In November, 1690, he addressed to Locke his *Historical Account of Two Notable Corruptions of Scripture.* In this he demonstrates, by an almost mathematical process, that the passages 1 John v. 7 and 1 Timothy iii. 16 had suffered interpolations in the interest of the dogma of the Trinity. His manuscript was to have been forwarded anonymously to M. Le Clerc, of Amsterdam, to be translated into French and published. Scarcely, however, had the precious treatise reached Holland, than poor Newton was seized with terror at the thought that the authorship would be discovered, and that he would thus be drawn into a theological controversy. He immediately countermanded his instructions to Locke, and therefore the work was not published until after his death. Posthumous, in like manner, were his *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John*, in which the Unitarian tendency is very marked. Newton ought to have recollected these two passages of Scripture: "Nothing is hid that shall not be made manifest," and "Let your light shine before men." In the very year of Newton's death, Voltaire, who had just spent a year in England, wrote to M. Thériot: "The Arian party is beginning to revive in England, as well as in Holland and in Poland. The great Newton honoured this opinion by his approbation. This philosopher

[19] Wallace, vol. iii. art. 357.

thought that the Unitarians reasoned more geometrically than we."[20]

Voltaire, who did not plume himself on being a theologian, in his Letters confuses the Unitarians with the Arians, the Socinians and the Quakers. He understands well enough what these various sects have in common, namely, the denial of the Athanasian Trinity and the radical reformation of the Church in accordance with Scripture, but he does not seize the shades of thought which distinguish them one from the other. Accordingly it devolves upon us to recapitulate here the resemblances and the differences between these dissenting sects, which played so important a part during the period of the English Commonwealth, and in the formation of the great American Republic.

Let us first of all put aside the Quakers, who in the seventeenth century were, in some sort, the heirs of Anabaptism. We have already remarked that William Penn's thought oscillated between Socinianism and Trinitarian orthodoxy, and that he ended by falling into Sabellianism.[21] In Robert Barclay, the type of doctrine is more orthodox: he declares that the revelations of the Spirit can never be in contradiction to Scripture; yet he admits that Christ manifested himself under a two-fold aspect, the man Jesus, the Almighty God.

The points, then, which separate the English Unitarians from the Quakers are the following. First, the source of their faith is Holy Scripture, interpreted by sound reason, and not by the spontaneous movements of a Spirit within, very difficult to distinguish from the suggestions of our own private spirit. In the second place, agreeing with Acontius, they discard the complication of the persons in the Divine

[20] Voltaire, Letter vii. on the English. Cf. *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, art. *Sociniens*.

[21] See Penn's *No Cross, No Crown*, as quoted by Guichard, *Histoire du Socinianisme*, p. 135.

essence, and maintain that Jesus was emphatically the Son, and subordinate to the Father. Lastly, following the tradition of St. Paul, they retain the two sacraments instituted by Jesus Christ, and respect constituted authorities as deriving their power from God.

As regards the New-Arians, what we have said respecting the opinions of Clarke and the younger Sand proves that two points clearly distinguished them from the Unitarians,—the recognition of the authority of the ante-Nicene Fathers in matters of faith, and the belief in the pre-existence of Christ, which makes him a secondary and subordinate divinity. Clarke is to Newton what Arius is to Paul of Samosata.

Lastly, the important thing in relation to our subject is to apportion aright the share of the Socinian elements, and that of the English or Anglo-Italian elements, in the formation of British Unitarian Christianity. In addition to the comparison between the Latin edition of the *Racovian Catechism* on the one hand, and the English edition and Bidle's *Twofold Catechism* on the other, we possess, for this purpose, an almost contemporary document, the testimony of Sir Peter Pett in the preface to his work on *The Happy Future State of England* (London, 1688).

His account of the beliefs which bound together the adherents of John Bidle is as follows:

"That the fathers under the old covenant had only temporal promises; that saving faith consisted in universal obedience, performed according to the commands of God and Christ; that Christ rose again only by the power of the Father, and not his own; that justifying faith is not the pure gift of God, but may be acquired by men's natural abilities; that faith cannot believe anything contrary to, or above reason; that there is no original sin; that Christ hath not the same body now in glory, in which he suffered and rose again; that the saints shall not have the same body in heaven which they had on earth; that Christ was not a Lord or King before his resurrection, or Priest before his

ascension; that the saints shall not, before the day of judgment, enjoy the bliss of heaven; that God doth not certainly know future contingencies; that there is not any authority of Fathers or General Councils in determining matters of faith; that Christ, before his death, had not any dominion over the angels; and that Christ, by dying, made not satisfaction for us."[22]

From these pieces of evidence we conclude that five elementary principles were transmitted from Socinianism to the English Unitarians. The first two are, that there is no other rule of faith but the Scripture, nor any other interpreter but reason; and that the aim of the Christian religion is to conduct us to eternal life (but as the Lord Jesus will not have in his glory the same body as in his suffering, no more will the saints live again in heaven with the same flesh as here below). The other three elements are these: Saving faith consists in obedience to the commandments of God, and in imitation of Jesus Christ; whence it follows that faith depends, in part, on the free efforts of the human will, and that in all the Churches salvation may be secured. There is but one sole person in the Divine essence, namely, the God of Israel, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and this God has no certain knowledge of future contingencies (thus predestination is rejected). Lastly, Jesus Christ, the only, but not the eternal, Son of God, had not to satisfy by his death the justice of God; was not made Lord and King before his resurrection, nor High Priest before his ascension.

But Bidle and the fathers of Anglo-Saxon Unitarianism excluded two Socinian ideas,—the invocation of Jesus Christ with the title of God, which they (like Ferencz Dávid) considered as an inconsistency; and the natural mortality of man, and his condemnation to eternal death in consequence

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[22] Wallace, vol. iii. pp. 186, 187.

of Adam's sin.[23] On the other hand, they added two new ideas,—the conception of the Holy Spirit as the Prince of the angels of good and truth; and the essential immortality of the soul, a doctrine which gives a possibility of salvation for all. It is this latter principle which has enabled the Unitarian Christianity of our century to make so much progress among the Quakers, Universalists and Baptists of America.

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[23] [The declarations of Bidle, the practice of Firmin, and the language of the *Unitarian Tracts* (Wallace, i. 254), are all distinctly in favour of the invocation of Christ. On the other point there was some variety of opinion; Bidle was very strong on the ultimate destruction of the wicked.]

CONCLUSION.

We hope we have established our thesis that the dogma of the Divine unipersonality is a conception formed by certain Spanish and Italian Protestants, and introduced by them into the Strangers' Church in London, towards the middle of the sixteenth century. As regards the contrary opinion, we had refuted it, to begin with, by showing that this doctrine had not had its sources either in England or in any other Teutonic country. We have, in the last place, endeavoured to explain how the fusion was effected between Socinianism, the last fruit of the tree of Italian Protestantism, and the rational and universalist elements of Anglo-Saxon Christianity. This fusion, begun in the polemical writings of Bidle and the old *Unitarian Tracts*, matured by the theological writings of Milton, Locke and Newton in the seventeenth century, and in the eighteenth by those of Lardner, Lindsey and Priestley, reaches its more complete expression in the Unitarian Christianity of Channing and of Theodore Parker.

Thus, from Ochino to Channing, as from Servetus to Parker, there is a filiation of doctrines of which we can follow the steps, without any break of continuity. The eminent Boston pastor has crowned the edifice whose first stones were laid, two centuries and a half before, by a few proscribed Italians, exiles in London for the cause of the gospel. This, certainly, is a remarkable phenomenon of religious acclimatisation ; an additional instance in proof of the powerlessness of brute force, the handmaid of intolerance, to put down an idea, true or false. You cannot stifle an

idea by force of burnings or of excommunications; an idea can be destroyed only by another idea; or, to employ the fine phrase of Edgar Quinet, "In matter of religious opinion, that alone is killed which is replaced." Free discussion must be allowed to draw the line between error and truth.

But, conversely, it does not always follow that because an idea has been persecuted and coerced, therefore it is true. Its resistance to the shocks of persecution proves but one thing, the moral dignity of the heretic, who will not yield to menace or even torture, and who knows how to die, like John Hus and Servetus, a martyr to his idea.

In order that the justness of a religious idea may be established, it is still necessary to prove its conformity with human reason and with the Holy Scripture, that is to say, with the highest revelation of the divine Reason. It now remains for us to show that the Unitarian idea fulfils this requirement.

I. A previous question which presents itself for consideration is, whether the work begun by the Italian Protestants and continued by the English Unitarians was a legitimate one. In other words, had these theologians the right to apply the incisive edge of criticism to the dogma of the Trinity as formulated in the *Symbolum Quicumque?* The answer depends upon the point of view at which we take our stand.

From the Catholic point of view, the answer is not doubtful. Bossuet has not been slow to give it; he declares in his *Variations* that the Unitarians are blasphemers of the Trinity, in revolt against the Roman Church and against God, justly hunted down by the tribunal of the Holy Office, and who found a refuge in Switzerland and Poland in the bosom of the Churches misnamed Reformed, of the Geneva pattern.[1] And Père Anastase Guichard does not hesitate

[1] Bossuet, *Variations des Églises prétendues Réformées*, bk. xv. p. 123.

to say that the Socinians have merely renewed the heresies of Artemon, Theodotus of Byzantium, Paul of Samosata, and other monarchians of the second and third centuries. The moment we admit, outside the Bible and reason, a principle of authority in matter of dogma and interpretation, these condemnations are logical.

But what appears strange is to hear Protestants disputing the right of other Protestants to touch the formula of the Trinity, a formula promulgated in Gaul during the first quarter of the ninth century, in the full swing of Catholicism. Is it not singular to hear a Calvinistic theologian, such as Voet, say, when speaking of the Unitarian tendencies of Acontius, "The snake in the grass is soon to be recognised, when we perceive that this man has not reckoned among fundamental articles the consubstantiality of the three divine persons; and has not condemned the heresies of Arius, Photinus, Paul of Samosata," &c.?[2] For in the name of what principle did the Reformers separate themselves from the Roman Church? It was in the name of the Word of God, revealed in the Old and New Testaments, and freely examined in the light of conscience and reason. And it is precisely on this principle that the Unitarians of all countries and all times have claimed the right to reject the "orthodox" formula of the Trinity; for it is clear that there is nothing Biblical or Apostolic either in the terms or in the spirit of the Athanasian Creed. But it may be urged, if the terms Trinity, homoousios, eternal generation, are not in Scripture, at any rate the ideas corresponding to them are found there clearly expressed. Not at all: we have searched for them in vain; and since the revision of the text and translation of the New Testament, that dogma has lost its strongest Biblical evidence.[3] The dogma of the Trinity is only an

[2] Gisbert Voet, *Selectæ Disputationes Theologicæ*, 1648, vol. i. 501.

[3] Alex. Gordon, *Christian Doctrine in the Light of New Testament Revision:* London, 1882.

attempt on the part of theologians, from the third to the ninth century, to explain the relations of God to the world.

This dogma is not in the Bible; such is the first argument which gives validity to Antitrinitarian criticism. Still further, before the Council of Nicæa, and even till Augustine, we do not find in the writings of the Fathers of the Church the dogmata of the divinity of Jesus Christ and the Trinity formulated in an explicit manner. At Rome, in the second century, Theodotus and Artemon openly professed Unitarianism; and the great doctor of Alexandria, Origen, while admitting the pre-existence of Jesus, conceived of the union of the two natures in Christ in a manner analogous to that admitted by the Quakers, which is evidently not Trinitarian. By the confession of the first author in whom we meet with the word *Trinitas*, Tertullian, the advocates of the divine Monarchia expressed the sentiments of the majority of Christians in his time. In the third century, Unitarianism found an interpreter, at once learned and popular, in Paul of Samosata, the celebrated bishop of Antioch.[4] Why then should the modern Unitarians be refused a right, exercised by many Fathers during the first three centuries, the golden age of the Church? Such is the second argument.

And now for the third, which is, that the Reformers themselves were the first to use, in regard to the Trinity, that self-same right of free inquiry which they had claimed in reference to Catholic dogma in general. Our Introduction has shown what embarrassment Melanchthon experienced on the topic of this dogma, which appears quite foreign to the great question of sin and redemption, and to what tragedies the Wittenberg Reformer foresaw that it would give rise in the new Church. Erasmus, and Calvin following his steps, are bolder in their exegesis. They upset,

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[4] Réville, *History of the Dogma of the Deity of Jesus Christ* (English translation): London, 1878, p. 92.

one by one, the interpretations which the scholastic doctors gave to the passages quoted in favour of the Trinity; in such wise that this doctrine no longer holds its place with them except by the thread of tradition. Farel cuts this slender tie, and the Trinity passes away, in his *Summary* of truths essential to salvation. After all, however, the boldest in his criticism of the Trinitarian formula is Luther, who suppressed in his liturgy the invocation to the Trinity, and confessed, in his blunt frankness, that the name Trinity never occurs in the Scripture, but was conceived and invented by men; that every article of faith must be founded on Scripture sayings; and that it would be much better to say God than the Trinity.[5]

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[5] Luther's *Kirchen-Postille* (Predigt am Sonntag nach Pfingsten, sogenannt S. der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit). "Man diesen Namen Dreifaltigkeit nirgend findet in der Schrift, sondern die Menschen haben ihn erdacht und erfunden. Darum lautet es zumal kalt, und viel besser spräche man Gott denn die Dreifaltigkeit. Diess Wort bebeutet aber dass Gott dreifaltig ist in den Personen. Das ist nun himmlisch Ding, das die Welt nicht verstehen kann. Darum habe ich eurer Liebe vor oft gesagt, dass man den und einen jeglichen Artikel des Glaubens gründen müsse, nicht auf die Vernunft oder Gleichniss; sondern fasse und grunde sie auf die Sprüche in der Schrift; denn Gott weiss wohl wie es ist; und wie er von ihm selbst reden soll. Die hohen Schulen haben mancherlei Distinctiones, Träume und Erdichtung erfunden; damit sie haben wollen anzeigen die heilige Dreifaltigkeit, und sind darüber zu Narren worden." (Ed. Walch, vol. xi. 1549; ed. Erlangen, vol. xii. 378; cf. vol. vi. 230, et ix. 1.) ["This name Trinity is never found in the Scripture, but men have devised and invented it. Therefore it sounds somewhat cold; and it is much better to say God than Trinity. This word denotes, however, that God is three-fold in person. Now that is a heavenly matter, which the world cannot understand. Therefore have I told you often aforetime, beloved, that the articles of the faith one and all must not be grounded on reason and probability, but must be fixed and grounded on the sayings in the Scripture; for God knows well how it is, and how to speak of Himself. The Schools have invented manifold distinctions, dreams and fictions, wherewith they have set themselves to show forth the Trinity, and thereby are become fools."]

After Luther, we will cite only Schleiermacher, as a sample of many others. He relegates the examination of this dogma to a postscript in his Dogmatics, and declares inadmissible the traditional formula of the Trinity, which in his eyes has only the value of an insoluble problem.[6]

II. Criticism of the dogma of the Trinity is therefore legitimate. This appears to us superabundantly demonstrated, both by the logic of the Protestant principle, and by the example of the Reformers themselves. A second question remains for our examination: Is the solution of the problem of the relations between God and the human mind, proposed by the Italian Unitarians, including the Socinians, a satisfactory one? Here we do not hesitate to answer in the negative. In fact, the outcome of all the teachings of the Bible is, that God is no mere abstract, transcendent Being, seated in heaven above the visible world, but that He is perpetually revealing himself in Creation, the work of His wisdom, and that He has revealed himself, in time, by Moses and the prophets, by Jesus Christ and the apostles. Such is the magnificent thought which the theologians of the first three centuries have expressed in the doctrine of the *Logos* or Word of God.[7] The Son is the *Logos* incarnate in Jesus Christ; the Holy Spirit is the *Logos* immanent in the Church. So that Wisdom, Word, Holy Spirit, are but synonyms for one and the same idea—to wit, God manifesting himself to the world under this three-fold form, Creation, Jesus Christ, and the Christian Church.

Thus far all is clear; and, let us carefully note, the formula of baptism goes no further. It is limited to the expression of the revelation of God, in the universe under the name of

[6] Schleiermacher, *Glaubenslehre*, vol. ii. 527—531. Cf. Channing, *Christianity a Rational Religion*, "I have done with the first objection," &c.

[7] Scholten, *De Leer der hervormde Kerke:* Leyden, 1862, vol. ii. 208. Cf. Schleiermacher, *Glaubenslehre*, Conclusion.

Father, in Jesus under the name of Son, and in the Church under the name of Holy Spirit, reserving to the Father all the same His absolute pre-eminence.

But the Fathers of Nicæa and the theologians of a later day have set themselves to pass these limits imposed by the very wisdom of the divine Master; they have pretended to know more details of his person and of his relations with his Father than he has himself declared. They have attributed to the *Logos* an individuality or hypostasis distinct from that of God, and an existence co-eternal with His; a doctrine altogether contrary to the first conception of the divine Word, and resulting from its identification of it with Jesus Christ. After this, led into error by the use of two different epithets, they have made an arbitrary distinction between the *Logos* and the *Paracletos*, to which, under the name of Holy Spirit, they have attributed a distinct personality.

Lastly, putting the finishing-touch to these distinctions and logomachies, they have placed these three terms in juxtaposition, pretending that they are three hypostases, equal in duration and in power, of one and the same God.

Ochino and Fausto Sozzini in the sixteenth century, and Schleiermacher and Baur[8] in our own time, have had no difficulty in showing, 1, that this Trinity in the One Being implies a contradiction in terms, and a change of condition inadmissible in the Being pre-eminently immutable; 2, that the terms generation (of the Son) and procession (of the Holy Spirit) imply an idea of dependence incompatible with absolute equality among the three hypostases.

On the other hand, the Italian Unitarians, notably the Socinians, aiming at a reaction against the Trinity in the name of cool reason, and without consulting the heart and conscience, fell into the opposite extreme. They confounded the terms *hypostasis* and *person*, and denied to the Holy Spirit

[8] F. C. Baur, *Die Christliche Lehre der Dreieinigkeit*, vol. iii.

all individuality, that is to say, any separate mode of existence. They employed the term Holy Spirit simply as the specific term serving to designate the special graces which God bestows on men; and, under cover of combatting the dualism of the natures in Christ, they went so far as to deny the existence of any divine essence in him.

With Fausto Sozzini, the conclusion of the matter was, as we have seen, that Christ is a veritable man; and not a mere man, in this sense, that he has a right to divine honours, by reason of his miraculous birth, and of the prophetic mission with which he has been endowed. Thus, for Socinianism, revelation is reduced to a sort of mechanical operation, redemption to a juridical process, all living communication between God and the human soul is suppressed. The Socinians conceived the heavenly Father as a legislator seated far above humanity, or, according to Pascal's expression, as "a God far off" (*Dieu de loin*), who leaves us frigid and dumb, and does not invite us to prayer.

These criticisms fully apply to the rationalistic system of Acontius and the Sozzini, and are equally applicable to the religion of causality, represented by Bidle, Locke and Priestley. Nevertheless, if we recollect the favourite idea of Ochino, *Dei sermo interior*, and his conception of God as Love, we shall note that his doctrine partly escapes these censures, and that there was in it a mystical element, of which, later on, advantage might be taken for the true solution of the relations of God with humanity.

In fact, that which in Ochino was the result of a skilful balance between the reason and the heart, was effected among the Anglo-Saxon Unitarians by a happy combination of Italian rationalism with the mystical sense inherent in all the Teutonic races.

Channing is, in our eyes, the finished type of this fusion. He corrects the dryness of the Socinian doctrine by the tenderness of a heart which beats in unison with the whole of

sentient nature. He completes the idea of absolute causality, the sole aspect under which Priestley conceived of God, by the ideas of conscience and of moral freedom. Doubtless for him, as for Sozzini, God is the unipersonal Being, who could not share His attributes with any other being in the universe, not even with His Son; but He is also the Father, full of love and mercy, who communicates His Holy Spirit, the Spirit of power and light, in all time and to all men. Jesus is emphatically the Son of God, in this sense, that he was one with the Father in affection and will; and the Son of Man, because he partook of the same circumstances and the same trials that we experience, and because he was united to mankind by the bonds of a deep community and sympathy. With regard to the relations between celestial spirits and men, Channing, without attempting to sound the unfathomable, inclines to the belief that "all minds are of one family;" that the angelic nature and human nature are of one and the same essence; in fine, that the inhabitants of the invisible world are in constant communication with our own.[9] By this doctrine he bridges the gulf that Socinianism had laid open between heaven and earth. Channing acknowledges the principle of divine immanence.

III. When we consider that Unitarian Christianity was represented in the middle of the sixteenth century by a handful of Spaniards and Italians, almost all martyrs to their faith, whom the Roman Inquisition had proscribed and the Calvinist and Zwinglian Churches repulsed, whereas to-day it counts many hundreds of thousands of adherents in all the Protestant communities, and forms flourishing Churches in Transylvania, Great Britain and the United States,—when we observe the enthusiasm with which the centennial of the

[9] For the development of Unitarian Christianity from Bidle and Locke to Channing and Parker, see J. Martineau, *Three Stages of Unitarian Theology:* London, 1869. Cf. R. Spears, *Historical Sketch, ut. sup.*

birth of William Ellery Channing was celebrated a few years ago,[10] and the success attained by the translations of his works with the French Protestant public, and even in more extensive Catholic circles,—it will be impossible for us to treat this doctrine with the disdain affected by certain Calvinist and Lutheran theologians. This is a proper case for the application of the precept of the wise Gamaliel: "If this counsel or this work be of men, it will be overthrown; but if it is of God, ye will not be able to overthrow them." After three centuries of furious conflict between the adversaries and the partisans of the Trinity, the divine truth immanent in history has pronounced its verdict: the Athanasian Creed is condemned, and will not recover from the universal discredit into which it has fallen. However, we must not make the mistake of thinking that the dogma of the Divine unipersonality is the fundamental idea of Unitarian Christianity; it is simply its distinguishing characteristic. For, with Acontius and Fausto Sozzini, it did not even form one of the articles of faith which they judged essential to salvation; their criterion in matters of faith was what conduced to eternal life.

But there was a feeling common to all these Unitarians, which was, as it were, the ruling passion of their soul—this was the sentiment of catholicity. By this we are to understand the consciousness they possessed of the universality of the gospel of salvation, and of the spiritual bond which should unite all Christians within one Church, broader than any of the separate Churches. This is an eminently evangelical thought; and the Lord Jesus has himself expressed it, as a wish, in his prayer of sacrifice, "that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee;" and

[10] See the volumes of reports of the Centenary Commemoration of the Birth of W. E. Channing (7 April, 1780), published in England and America (1880).

as a prophecy, in this saying, "they shall become one flock, one shepherd." Now it is to be remarked that this sentiment appears much more strong and deep among the Protestants of Latin race than among the Reformers of pure Germanic race. These latter take part more readily in the divisions and subdivisions of the Church, and do not offer sufficient resistance to the exaggeration of the principle of individualism; the former, on the contrary, as if they retained something of that idea of cosmopolitan centralisation which made the greatness of the Roman people, feel a deep need of the approach and reunion of the various Churches, on the one foundation than which none other can be laid. Thence arise the eirenical overtures put forth by Unitarians of every age. As Mr. Gordon well says, speaking of Servetus and other Unitarian leaders, "They left Rome not to join Luther. They brushed aside the Trinitarian dogma in their haste to get at Christ. . . . . Their idea was to rally and re-inspirit the Christian mind by recalling the primary allegiance of the Christian heart. Let Christ be known in his true self, and neither the pure majesty of Christian truth, nor the sure bond of Catholic unity, could fail."[11]

Bernardino Ochino is not less straitened than Servetus in all the separate Churches, and he aspires after the union of all Christians through the love of God and a living faith in Christ. "These forty years," he writes in 1561, "have many Churches reformed themselves, and all think themselves most perfect, especially as regards doctrine; and yet they herein differ so much, that each of them condemns as heretical all the other Churches which do not accept its doctrines." "There is only one way of uniting all in Christ, and that is to show that man may be loved, justified and saved by God,

[11] *Theolog. Review*, April, 1878, art. *Miguel Serveto.* Cf. Tollin, *Das Characterbild M. Servets.*

whether he believe in the Real Presence or no."[12] A maxim which, in his thought, was applied to all doctrines which are not expressly mentioned in the Bible.

This severance which Ochino recommended between the points that are essential and common to all the Churches and the accessories which divide them, Acontius, his disciple and friend, took pains to effect in his fine book, the *Stratagemata*. He, too, deplores all the party names, all the hostile Confessions of Faith, which the Protestant sects have adopted; he sees the advantage which their Catholic opponents cleverly derive from this state of things; and he would fain re-unite them all in a single Confession of Faith, on the basis of Holy Scripture. Listen to this eirenical appeal:

"If there is one God, one Christ, one Baptism, one Faith, what is the object (says the adversary) of all these various denominational confessions?" "If the Churches among which there is agreement about those heads of doctrine, the knowledge of which is essential to salvation, could hold these also as one common Confession of Faith, in order that, as in fact they belong to one body as it were, they might also appear so, I should not disapprove. But since this may not be, I had rather there were no Confession than so many. . . . Assuredly such an accord of the Churches would compose many verbal disputes of men, and would remove many and great obstacles which wonderfully retard the course of the Gospel."[13]

As regards Fausto Sozzini, the broadness of the conception which he had formed of the Church is well known. He energetically disclaimed having entertained the desire of founding a new sect, and refused to join any of the separate Churches which existed in Poland in his time, remarking,

[12] *Disputa di M. Bernardino Ochino da Siena intorno alla presenza del Corpo di Giesu Christo nel Sacramento della Cena*, quoted in Benrath's *Ochino*, pp. 281 and 278.

[13] *Stratagemata*, bk. vii. pp. 331, 333, 334 (ed. Grasser).

'I do not entirely belong to any sect." He thought, with Ochino and Acontius, that whoever believes and acts in accordance with his personal faith in the Christ of the Gospels, may be saved, to whatever Church he belongs. Faithful to this catholic feeling of the Sozzini, the Polish Brethren, even after their exodus into Transylvania, preserved to their Church the name of *Coetus Christianorum Catholicorum*, "quos Unitarios vocant," and set forth their faith under the title of a *Confessio Fidei Exulum Christi, qui ab ejus sanctissimo nomine Christiani tantum appellari amant.*[14]

Such is the grand and beautiful idea of unity in diversity with which the Italian Unitarians, during their exile in London, inoculated the Anglo-Saxon genius. It rightly indicates, in our opinion, the important part which is reserved for Unitarian Christianity in the religious crisis of our time.

The Unitarians are those who, in virtue of their very name and of their principles, may prevent an impending divorce between science and the gospel, between reason and faith. It is for men of their way of thinking, who are to be found in all the Churches, to bring the various Christian denominations nearer to each other, on the basis of the gospel, interpreted by conscience and reason.

Channing had a vision of this magnificent ideal when he wrote his beautiful discourse on the Church:

"There is a grander Church than all particular ones, however extensive—the Church Catholic, or Universal, spread over all lands, and one with the Church in heaven. All Christ's followers form one body, one fold. . . . . Into this Church, all who partake the spirit of Christ are admitted. . . . No man can be excommunicated from it but by himself, by the death of goodness in his own breast."

To this voice from across the ocean respond the impressive tones of Alexandre Vinet, who also is a prophet of

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[14] *Theolog. Review*, Oct. 1879, pp. 568, 569.

unity in freedom, when he says, "The Church of free inquiry should never be anything but a society of consciences. Either it must abjure its own principle, or else it must consent to liberty. Its head is either in Rome or else in Heaven. Protestantism for me is but my starting-point; my religion is something beyond this. . . . . I might, as a Protestant, hold Catholic opinions, and who shall say that I do not?"[6]

"To unity through freedom"—this, in our judgment, is the very motto of Unitarian Christianity; and this idea contains the whole future of the Church.

[15] *Esprit d'Alex. Vinet*, ed. Astié, vol. i. 304, 389.

APPENDIX I.

(P. 33.)

Extract from Confession of John Tyball [Theobald], of Bumstede-ad-Turrim [Steeple Bumpstead], made and subscribed by the said John before the Reverend Father in Christ, Cuthbert [Tonstall], Lord Bishop of London, in the Chapel below the Palace at London, 28 Aug. A.D. 1528. (Given in Strype, *Eccles. Memorials*, ed. 1822, i., part 2, app. 17.)

"Furthermore, he saythe, that, at Mychaelmasse last past was twelve monethe, this respondent and Thomas Hilles came to London to Frear Barons, then being at the Freers Augustines in London, to buy a New Testament in Englishe, as he saythe. And they found the sayd Freer Barons in his chamber; wheras there was a merchant man, reading in a boke, and ii. or iii. more present. And when they came in, the Frear demawnded them, from whence they cam. And they said, from Bumstede; and so forth in communication they desyred the sayd Freer Barons, that thy myght be aquaynted with hym; because they had herd that he was a good man; and bycause they wold have his cownsel in the New Testament, which they desyred to have of hym.

"And he saithe, that the sayd Frear Barons did perseve very well, that Thomas Hilles and this respondent were infected with opinions, bycause they wold have the New Testament. And then farther, they shewyed the sayd Frear, that one Sir Richard Fox Curate of Bumstede, by ther means, was wel entred in ther lernyng; and sayd, that they thowghte to gett hym hole in shorte space. Wherfore they desyryd the sayd Frear Barons to make a letter to hym, that he wold continew in that he had begon-

Which Frear did promyse so to wryte to hym a letter at afternoone, and to gete them a New Testament.

"And then after that communication, the sayd Thomas Hilles and this respondent shewyd the Frear Barons of certayne old bookes that they had: as of iiii. Evangelistes, and certayne Epistles of Peter and Poule in Englishe. Which bookes the sayd Frear dyd litle regard, and made a twyte of it, and sayd, A poynt for them, for they be not to be regarded toward the new printed Testament in Englishe. For it is of more cleyner Englishe. And then the sayd Frear Barons delyverid to them the sayd New Testament in Englyshe: for which they payd iiis. iid. and desyred them, that they wold kepe yt close. For he wolde be loth that it shold be knowen, as he now remembreth. And after the delyverance of the sayd New Testament to them, the sayd Frear Barons did lyken the New Testament in Latyn to a cymbal tynkkling, and brasse sowndyng. But what farther exposytion he made uppon it, he cannot tell.

"And then at afternone they fett the sayd letter of the sayd Frear; which he wrote to Sir Richard; and red that openly before them: but he doth not now remember what was in the same. And so departed from hym; and did never since speke with hym, or write to hym, as he saithe."

APPENDIX II.

(P. 41.)

Extract from the Preface of Erasmus to the Works of St. Hilary; addressed to Giovanni Carondileto, Archbishop of Palermo. (*Divi Hilarii Pictauorum Episcopi Lucubrationes per Desid. Erasmum Roterodamum . . . emendatas*, &c. Basel: Froben, 1523, p. aa6.)

"In his evolvendis, illud obiter subiit animum meum, fortasse non defuturos qui mirentur, quum tot libris, tanto studio tantoque molimine, tot argumentis, tot sententiis, tot anathematis agatur, ut credamus Filium esse verum Deum, ejusdem essentiæ, sive, ut aliquoties loquitur Hilarius, ejusdem generis, aut naturæ cum Patre, quod Græci vocant Ὁμούσιον, potentia,

sapientia, bonitate, æternitate, immortalitate, cæterisque rebus omnibus parem: de Spiritu Sancto interim vix ulla fiat mentio: cum tota controversia de cognomine veri Dei, de cognomine homusii, de æqualitate, non minus pertineat ad Spiritum quam ad Filium.

"Imo nusquam scribit adorandum Spiritum Sanctum, nusquam tribuit Dei vocabulum, nisi quod uno aut altero loco in Synodis refert improbatos eos, qui Patrem, Filium et Spiritum Sanctum auderent dicere tres Deos: sive quia putarit tum magis patrocinandum Filio, cujus humana natura faciebat, ut difficilius persuaderetur Deum esse, qui idem esset homo . . . . sive hæc veterum religio fuit, ut licet Deum pie venerarentur, nihil tamen de eo pronunciare auderent, quod non esset aperte traditum in sacris voluminibus. In quibus ut aliquoties Filio tribuitur Dei cognomen, ita Spiritui Sancto nusquam aperte: etiam si post orthodoxorum pia curiositas idoneis argumentis comperit e sacris literis, in Spiritum Sanctum competere quicquid Filio tribuebatur, excepta personarum proprietate.

"Sed, ob impervestigabilem rerum divinarum obscuritatem, in nominibus tribuendis erat religio: de re divina nefas esse ducebant aliis verbis loqui, quam sacræ Literæ loquerentur. Spiritum Sanctum legerant, Spiritum Dei legerant, Spiritum Christi legerant. Didicerant ex Evangelio, Spiritum Sanctum non seiungi a Patre et Filio. Docentur enim apostoli baptizare in nomine Patris et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Servant trium personarum consortium solennes illæ preculæ, ex antiquissimo Ecclesiæ ritu nobis relictæ, breves iuxta ac doctæ, in quibus Pater rogatur per Filium, in unitate Spiritus Sancti. Pater frequentissime Deus vocatur, Filius aliquoties, Spiritus Sanctus nunquam.

"Atque hæc dixerim, non ut in dubium vocem, quod nobis e divinis literis Patrum orthodoxorum tradidit autoritas; sed ut ostendam quanta fuerit antiquis religio pronunciandi de rebus divinis, quum sanctius etiam eas colerent quam nos, qui huc audaciæ prorupimus, ut non vereamur Filio præscribere, quibus modis debuerit honorare matrem suam. Audemus Spiritum Sanctum appellare Deum verum, quod veteres ausi non sunt: sed iidem non veremur illum subinde nostris sceleribus ex animi nostri templo deturbare, perinde quasi crederemus Spiritum Sanctum nihil aliud esse, quam inane nomen. Quemadmodum

plerique veterum, qui summa pietate colebant Filium, tamen homusion dicere verebantur, quod ea vox nusquam in sacris literis haberetur. Adeo prior fuit Ecclesiæ profectus in puritate vitæ, quam in exacta cognitione divinitatis; nec unquam plus accepit dispendii quam quum in eruditione philosophica, demum et in opibus hujus mundi, quam maxime promovisse videbatur."

Translation.

"In the course of this investigation it has come into my mind by the way, that perhaps there will not be wanting some to wonder, while in so many books, with so much zeal and pains, by so many arguments, so many opinions, so many anathemas, we are urged to believe the Son to be True God, of the same essence (or, as Hilary sometimes speaks, of the same genus or nature) with the Father, which the Greeks call *homoousios*, equal [to Him] in power, wisdom, goodness, eternity, immortality, and all things else—meantime scarce any mention is made of the Holy Spirit, though the whole controversy concerning the appellation True God, the appellation *homoousios*, and the equality, relates not less to the Spirit than to the Son.

"In fact [Hilary] nowhere writes that the Holy Spirit is to be adored, and nowhere applies [to the Spirit] the word God (unless that in one or two places in the *De Synodis* he states that those were censured who dared to call the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three Gods); whether because he thought it more necessary at that time to protect the Son, whose human nature made it more difficult to persuade men that he is God, who at the same time was man . . . . or whether it was a scruple with the ancients that, albeit they piously venerated God, they yet dared not pronounce anything concerning Him, that had not been openly delivered in the sacred volumes. Wherein, while sometimes to the Son the appellation God is applied, still [it is] nowhere openly [given] to the Holy Spirit; although afterwards the pious inquisitiveness of the orthodox ascertained, by fitting arguments from the sacred writings, that whatever was attributed to the Son belongs to the Holy Spirit, the individuality of the persons being excepted.

"But, from the unsearchable obscurity of divine things, there

was a scruple in applying [certain] terms ; they judged it a profanity to speak on a divine matter in other words than the sacred writings spoke. They had read 'Holy Spirit,' they had read 'Spirit of God,' they had read 'Spirit of Christ.' They had learned from the Gospel that the Holy Spirit is not disjoined from the Father and the Son. For the Apostles are taught to baptise in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. The association of the three persons is maintained in those solemn prayers, brief and learned, which are left to us from the most august rite of the Church ; wherein the Father is petitioned 'through the Son, in unity of the Holy Spirit.' The Father is with the utmost frequency called God, the Son sometimes, the Holy Spirit never.

"And these things I would say, not to call in question what the authority of the orthodox Fathers has delivered to us in the divine writings, but to show how great was the scruple of the ancients about pronouncing on divine things, inasmuch as they reverenced them yet more religiously than we do, who have run out to such a length of audacity that we are not afraid to dictate to the Son in what ways he ought to honour his own mother. We dare to call the Holy Spirit True God, which the ancients did not dare [to do] ; but at the same time we are not afraid of continually by our wickednesses thrusting him out of the temple of our mind, just as if we thought the Holy Spirit was nothing else than an empty name. In like manner, many of the ancients, who reverenced the Son with the highest degree of piety, were yet afraid to call him *homoousios* [consubstantial], because that expression was nowhere employed in the sacred writings. Thus the Church's proficiency in purity of life was earlier than [her advance] in exact knowledge of divinity ; nor was she ever more at a discount [in character] than when she seemed to have made the greatest strides both in philosophic erudition and in this world's wealth to boot."

APPENDIX III.

(Pp. 61, 121.)

Letters Patent of Edward VI., constituting the Strangers' Church in London, 1550. (Taken from Utenhove's *Simplex et Fidelis Narratio de . . . . Belgarum aliorumque Peregrinorum in Anglia Ecclesia*, Basel, 1560, collated with Kuyper's *Joannes à Lasco*, vol. ii. See also Burnet, ii. 2, 158, for a still better text; and Collier, ix. 276, for a French duplicate.)

"Eduardus Sextus, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæ rex, fidei defensor, et, in terra, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremum, sub Christo, caput, omnibus ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint, salutem.

"Cum magnæ quædam et graves considerationes nos ad præsens specialiter impulerunt, tum etiam cogitantes illud, quanto studio et charitate christianos principes in sacrosanctum Dei evangelium et religionem apostolicam ab ipso Christo inchoatam, institutam et traditam, animatos et propensos esse conveniat, sine qua haud dubie politia et civile regnum neque consistere diu, neque nomen suum tueri potest, nisi principes, cæterique præpotentes viri, quos Deus ad regnorum gubernacula sedere voluit, id imprimis operam dent, ut per totum reipublicæ corpus casta synceraque religio diffundatur, et ecclesia in vere christianis et apostolicis opinionibus et ritibus instituta atque adulta, per sanctos ac carni et mundo mortuos ministros conservetur.

"Pro eo quod christiani principis officium statuimus, inter alias suas gravissimas de regno suo bene splendideque administrando cogitationes etiam religioni, et religionis causa calamitate fractis et afflictis exulibus consulere, Sciatis,

"Quod, non solum præmissa contemplantes, et ecclesiam a Papatus tyrannide per nos vindicatam in pristina libertate conservare cupientes; verum etiam exulum ac peregrinorum conditionem miserantes, qui jam bonis temporibus in regno nostro Angliæ commorati sunt voluntario exilio, religionis et ecclesiæ causa mulctati; quia hospites et exteros homines propter Christi evangelium ex patria sua profligatos et eiectos, et in regnum nostrum profugos, præsidiis ad vitam degendam necessariis in regno nostro egere, non dignum esse, neque christiano homine neque principis magnificentia duximus, cuius liberalitas nullo

modo in tali rerum statu restricta clausave esse debet; ac quoniam multi Germanæ nationis homines, ac alii peregrini (qui confluxerunt, et in dies singulos confluunt in regnum nostrum Angliæ, ex Germania et aliis remotioribus partibus in quibus Papatus dominatur, evangelii libertas labefactari et premi cœpta est) non habent certam sedem et locum in regno nostro, ubi conventus suos celebrare valeant, ubi inter suæ gentis et moderni idiomatis homines religionis negocia et res ecclesiasticas pro patriæ ritu et more intelligenter obire et tractare possint; idcirco de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, necnon de advisamento Consilii nostri, volumus, concedimus et ordinamus:

"Quod de cætero sit et erit unum templum, sive sacra ædes in civitate nostra Londinensi quod vel quæ vocabitur 'Templum Domini Iesu,' ubi congregatio et conventus Germanorum et aliorum peregrinorum fieri et celebrari possit, ea intentione et proposito ut a Ministris Ecclesiæ Germanorum aliorumque Peregrinorum sacrosancti evangelii incorrupta interpretatio, sacramentorum juxta verbum Dei et apostolicam observationem administratio fiat: ac templum illud, sive sacram ædem illam de uno Superintendente et quatuor verbi Ministris erigimus, creamus, ordinamus et fundamus per præsentes;

"Et quod idem Superintendens et Ministri in re et nomine sint et erunt unum corpus corporatum et politicum de se, per nomen 'Superintendentis et Ministrorum Ecclesiæ Germanorum et aliorum Peregrinorum ex fundatione Regis Eduardi sexti:' in civitate Londinensi per præsentes incorporamus, ac corpus corporatum et politicum, per idem nomen realiter et ad plenum creamus, erigimus, ordinamus, facimus et constituimus per præsentes;, et quod successionem habeant.

"Et ulterius de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, necnon de advisamento Consilii nostri, dedimus et concessimus, ac per præsentes damus et concedimus præfato Superintendenti et Ministris Ecclesiæ Germanorum et aliorum Peregrinorum in civitate Londinensi, totum illud templum sive ecclesiam, nuper Fratrum Augustinensium in civitate nostra Londinensi, ac totam terram, fundum et solum ecclesiæ prædictæ, exceptis toto choro dictæ ecclesiæ, terris, fundo et solo eiusdem, habendum et gaudendum: dictum templum sive eccle-

siam, ac cætera præmissa, exceptis præexceptis, præfatis Superintendenti et Ministris et successoribus suis, tenendum de nobis, hæredibus et successoribus nostris, in puram et liberam eleemosynam.

"Damus ulterius de advisamento prædicto, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris prædictis per præsentes concedimus præfatis Superintendenti et Ministris, et successoribus suis, plenam facultatem, potestatem et autoritatem ampliandi et maiorem faciendi numerum ministrorum, et nominandi et appunctuandi de tempore in tempus tales et huius modi subministros ad serviendum in templo prædicto, quales præfatis Superintendenti et Ministris necessarium visum fuerit; et quidem hæc omnia iuxta beneplacitum regium.

"Volumus præterea, quod Ioannes à Lasco, natione Polonus, homo propter integritatem et innocentiam vitæ ac morum, et singularem eruditionem valde celebris, sit primus et modernus Superintendens dictæ Ecclesiæ: et quod Gualterus Deloenus, Martinus Flandrus, Franciscus Riverius, Richardus Gallus, sint quatuor primi et moderni Ministri.

"Damus præterea et concedimus præfatis Superintendenti et Ministris, et successoribus suis, facultatem, autoritatem et licentiam, post mortem vel vacationem alicuius ministri prædictorum, de tempore in tempus eligendi, nominandi et surrogandi alium, personam habilem et idoneum, in locum suum; ita tamen quod persona sic nominatus et electus præsentetur et sistatur coram nobis, hæredibus vel successoribus nostris, et per nos, hæredes vel successores nostros, instituatur in ministerium prædictum.

"Damus etiam et concedimus præfatis Superintendenti, Ministris, et successoribus suis, facultatem, autoritatem et licentiam, post mortem seu vacationem Superintendentis de tempore in tempus eligendi, nominandi et surrogandi alium, personam doctum et gravem in locum suum; ita tamen quod persona sic nominatus et electus præsentetur et sistatur coram nobis, hæredibus vel successoribus nostris, et per nos, hæredes vel successores nostros, instituatur in officium Superintendentis prædictum.

"Mandamus, et firmiter iniungendum præcipimus, tum Maiori, Vicecomitibus et Aldermanis civitatis nostræ Londinensis, tum Episcopo Londinensi et successoribus suis, cum omnibus aliis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, justiciariis, officiariis et ministris nos-

tris quibuscumque, quod permittant præfatis Superintendenti et Ministris, et successoribus suis libere et quiete frui, gaudere, uti et exercere ritus et ceremonias suas proprias, et disciplinam ecclesiasticam propriam et peuliarem, non obstante quod non conveniant cum ritibus et ceremoniis in regno nostro usitatis, absque impeditione, perturbatione aut inquietatione eorum, vel eorum alicuius; aliquo statuto, actu, proclamatione, injunctione, restrictione, seu usu in contrarium inde antehac habitis, factis, editis seu promulgatis in contrarium non obstantibus, eo quod expressa mentio de vero valore annuo, aut de certitudine præmissorum, sive eorum alicuius, aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus per nos præfatis Superintendenti, Ministris et successoribus suis, ante hæc tempora factis, in præsentibus minime facta existit; aut aliquo statuto, actu, ordinatione, provisione, sive restrictione inde in contrarium factis, editis, ordinatis seu provisis, aut aliqua alia re, causa vel materia quocumque in aliquo non obstante.

"In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes.

"Teste me ipso, apud Leighes, vicesimo quarto die Julii, anno regni nostri quarto.

"Per breve de privato sigillo, et de datis prædicta autoritate Parliamenti.

"P. SOUTHWELL. W. HARRYS."

TRANSLATION.

"Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, and on earth supreme head, under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland, to all to whom these letters present may come, sendeth greeting.

"Whereas certain great and weighty considerations have at this present especially moved us, moreover also thinking with what zeal and love it behoveth Christian princes to be animated and disposed towards the most holy Gospel of God, and the apostolic religion begun, instituted and delivered by Christ himself, without which, doubtless, the state and civil rule can neither long hold together nor preserve its prestige, unless princes, and the other powerful magnates whom God hath pleased to set at the helms of kingdoms, make it their first care that through the

whole body of the commonwealth pure and undefiled religion be diffused, and that the Church, instituted and matured in truly Christian and apostolic opinions and rites, be preserved by holy ministers, dead to the flesh and the world :

"Forasmuch as we conclude that it is the duty of a Christian prince, among his other most weighty designs for the good and illustrious administration of his kingdom, also to provide for religion, and for exiles broken by calamity and afflicted in the cause of religion, Know ye,

"That, not only having in view the matters aforesaid, and desiring to preserve in its original freedom the Church which has by us been liberated from the tyranny of the Papacy ; but also commiserating the condition of exiles and strangers, who have sojourned this good while in our kingdom of England in voluntary exile, punished in the cause of religion and the Church ; for, that visitors and foreigners, ruined and ejected from their own country on account of the Gospel of Christ, and coming as fugitives to our kingdom, are here in want of essential securities of life, we have judged unworthy either of a Christian man, or of the magnificence of a prince, whose liberality ought in such a state of things to be in no way restricted or close ; and since many men of German race, and other strangers (who have flocked, and do every day flock, into our kingdom of England out of Germany and other more distant parts in which the Papacy hath sway, the freedom of the Gospel is begun to be subverted and oppressed) have no fixed seat and locality in our kingdom, where they are authorised to solemnise their own assemblies, where among men of their own nation and ordinary idiom they can intelligently execute and transact the affairs of religion and ecclesiastical concerns in accordance with the ritual and usage of their own country ; therefore, of our special grace, and from our own assured knowledge, and of our own mere motion, at the same time by the advice of our Council, we do will, grant and ordain :

"That henceforward there may and shall be a temple or sacred edifice in our city of London, which shall be called the 'Temple of the Lord Jesus,' where the congregation and assembly of Germans and other strangers may be held and solemnised, with this intention and purpose, that by the Ministers of the

Church of Germans and other Strangers there may be rendered an incorrupt interpretation of the most holy Gospel, and an administration of the sacraments according to the word of God, and the apostolic observance: and this temple or sacred edifice, of one Superintendent and four Ministers of the word, we do erect, create, ordain and found by these presents;

"And that the said Superintendent and Ministers may and shall be in fact and name a body corporate and politic of themselves, by the name of 'The Superintendent and Ministers of the Church of Germans and other Strangers on the foundation of King Edward the Sixth:' by these presents we do incorporate them in the city of London, and we do by these presents really and fully create, erect, ordain, make and constitute them a body corporate and politic by the said name; and that they may have succession.

"And furthermore of our special grace and from our own assured knowledge and of our own mere motion, at the same time with the advice of our Council, we have given and granted, and by these presents we do give and grant to the aforesaid Superintendent and Ministers of the Church of Germans and other Strangers in the city of London, all that temple or church lately of the Austin Friars in the city of London, and all the land, ground and soil of the aforesaid church, except all the choir of the said church, the lands, ground and soil of the same, to have and to enjoy: the said temple or church and the other premises, except the before excepted, to be holden by the aforesaid Superintendent and Ministers and their successors, of us, our heirs and successors, in pure frank-almoin.

"We do furthermore give, by advice as aforesaid, and from our certain knowledge and of our mere motion, as aforesaid, we do by these presents grant to the aforesaid Superintendent and Ministers, and to their successors, full faculty, power and authority of enlarging and making greater the number of Ministers, and of nominating and appointing from time to time such and such sub-ministers for serving in the aforesaid temple, as to the aforesaid Superintendent and Ministers shall have seemed necessary; and, moreover, all this with concurrence of the king's good pleasure.

"We do will besides that Jan Laski, a native of Poland, a man

of high repute for integrity and innocence of life and morals, and for singular erudition, be the first and customary Superintendent of the said Church; and that Wouter Deloen, Marten [Microen] of Flanders, François La Rivière and Richard François, be the four first and ordinary Ministers.

"We do besides give and grant to the aforesaid Superintendent and Ministers, and to their successors, faculty, authority and licence, after the death or demission of any minister of the aforesaid, for choosing, nominating and surrogating into his place from time to time another, an able and suitable person; so, nevertheless, that the person thus nominated and chosen be presented and appear before us, our heirs or successors, and by us, our heirs or successors, be instituted into the aforesaid ministry.

"We do also give and grant to the aforesaid Superintendent, Ministers, and their successors, faculty, authority and licence, after the death or demission of a Superintendent, for choosing, nominating and surrogating into his place from time to time another, a learned and grave person; so, nevertheless, that the person thus nominated and chosen be presented and appear before us, our heirs or successors, and by us, our heirs or successors, be instituted into the aforesaid office of Superintendent.

"We do command, and order that it be strongly enjoined both on the Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen of our city of London, and on the Bishop of London and his successors, with all others, Archbishops, Bishops, justices, officers and ministers of ours whatsoever, that they permit the aforesaid Superintendent and Ministers and their successors freely and quietly to indulge, enjoy, use and exercise their own proper rites and ceremonies, and their proper and peculiar ecclesiastical discipline, notwithstanding that these may not agree with the rites and ceremonies practised in our kingdom, without hindrance, disturbance or disquieting of them or of any of them; any statute, act, proclamation, injunction, restriction or usage to the contrary thereof aforetime held, made, published or promulgated to the contrary notwithstanding, on the ground that in these presents there nowhere arises any express mention made respecting the true annual value or the warranty of the premises or of any of them, or respecting other gifts or grants made by us aforetime to the

aforesaid Superintendent, Ministers and their successors; or any statute, act, ordinance, provision or restriction to the contrary thereof made, published, ordained or provided, or any other thing, cause or matter in any respect whatsoever notwithstanding.

"In testimony of which thing we have caused these letters patent to be made.

"Witness myself, at Leighes, the twenty-fourth day of July in the fourth year of our reign.

"By brief of the privy seal, and of grants on the aforesaid authority of Parliament.

"P. SOUTHWELL. W. HARRYS."

[Observe that *persona* is treated as a masculine noun.]

APPENDIX IV.

(P. 82.)

Extract from a Letter of the Geneva Ministers, forwarded by Théodore Beza to the Ministers of East Friesland, 2 Sept. 1566. (*Epistolarum Theologicarum Theodori Bezæ Vezelii*, liber unus, Genev. 1573, Letter iv. pp. 42, 43.)

Having enumerated the heads of accusation against a certain Adrianus, pastor of the French Church at Emden, the letter proceeds:

"Quartum accusationis caput est, quod Adrianus, clam Emdensibus ministris, ... curauerit Valdesii considerationes, multis erroribus, atque etiam blasphemiis adversus sacrum Dei verbum scatentes, non tantum in Flandricam linguam conuertendas, sed etiam edendas, et iis locis distribuendas. ....

"Scimus, ex idoneorum hominum testimonio, quantum nascenti Neapolitanæ ecclesiæ liber ille detrimenti attulerit; scimus etiam quod fuerit de illo judicium D. Joannis Caluini; scimus & illud, Ochinum, infelicis memoriæ virum, ex illis lacunis suas illas profanas speculationes hausisse, et ita tandem sensim a verbo Dei abductum, in vltimum illud exitium sese præcipitasse, in quo miser interiit: ac proinde librum illum a spiritu Anabaptistico multis locis non multum dissidentem, id est a verbo Dei ad inanes quasdam speculationes, quas falso Spiritum appellant,

homines abducentem, vel nunquam editum, vel statim sepultum fuisse magnopere cuperemus."

TRANSLATION.

"The fourth head of accusation is that Adrianus, unbeknown to the ministers of Emden, ... caused the *Considerations* of Valdés, swarming with many errors and even blasphemies against God's sacred word, not merely to be translated into the Flemish tongue, but to be published too, and distributed in that locality...

"We know, on the testimony of competent men, how much injury that book did to the nascent church at Naples; we know too what was the judgment of Master John Calvin respecting it; we know also this, that out of these pits Ochino, of unhappy memory, drew those profane speculations of his, and so at length led off little by little from the word of God, he precipitated himself into that last destruction, wherein he miserably perished: and accordingly we should greatly wish that this book, differing not much from the Anabaptist spirit in many places, that is to say, leading men off from the word of God to certain empty speculations, which they falsely call the Spirit, had either never been published, or were at once consigned to the tomb."

APPENDIX V.

(P. 98.)

Extract from Twenty-six Questions on the Trinity proposed by four Grisons ministers to the Zürich divines, 24 May, 1561. (Trechsel, ii. app. v., from MS. No. 122 in the Bern Library.)

"4. An ad æternam salutem consequendam præstet sanctissimum Triadis arcanum silentio adorare, quam de ea, aliter quam sacræ literæ docent, et secundum varias hominum sententias, temere loqui?

"5. An perspicacior acutiorve sanctissimæ Triadis intelligentia pro consequenda vita æterna nobis necessaria sit quam ea, quæ in divinis literis a Spiritu S. nobis tradita sit?

"6. An ecclesiarum Dei ministri et doctores cogere simplices

et imperitos possint, constituta etiam illis privationis cœnæ dominicæ pœna, ut, de sanctissima Triade disserentes, aliis vocibus et nominibus, ab istis minime intellectis utantur, quam his quibus in s. literis Spiritus Sanctus utitur?

"20. An quis, tanquam pertinax et convictus hæreticus ob simplicem errorem in articulo Trinitatis, cujus arcanum sacratissimum vix ab Angelis comprehendi potest, debeat excommunicari quomodocumque in cæteris omnibus, is doctrina atque vita sit inculpabili, imo laudatissimis moribus, et summa erga pauperes charitate sit præditus?"

[Translated above, pp. 97, 98.]

APPENDIX VI.

(P. 105.)

Confession of Faith imposed on the Italian Church at Geneva, 18 May, 1558. [Extracted by the State Archivist, M. Ad. C. Grivel, from the Archives of Geneva (*Procès Criminels*, No. 746). It is printed, with the Latin text, by H. Fazy, *Procès de V. Gentilis*, 1878.]

"Ancor che la confession de la fede, contenuta nel symbolo de gli Apostoli doverebbe bastare per la simplicità del popolo Christiano, nondimeno percioche alcuni, essendosi per la loro curiosità disviati de la pura e vera fede, hanno turbato l'unione e concordia di questa Chiesa, e seminato de le opinione false et erronee: Per ovviare à tutte le astutie di Satano et esser muniti e provisi contra quelli che ci volesseno sedurre, e mostrare che noi crediamo d'un cuore, e parliamo d'una bocca, e similimente che noi rifutiamo e detestiamo tutte le heresie contrarie à la pura fede, la quale infino à qui habbiam tenuta, e vogliamo seguire in sino à la fine, habbiam risoluto di fare la dichiaratione, che qui appresso segue, quanto à la unica e semplice essentia di Dio, e la distintione de le tre persone.

"Noi dichiariamo dunque, che il padre Iddio, ha in tal modo generato fin da ogni eternità la sua parola e [o?] sapientia, che è il suo unico figliuolo, e che lo Spirito Santo è proceduto d'amendue; che non vi è se non una sola et semplice essentia del padre,

del figliuolo, et de lo Spirito Santo: e che questo, che il padre è distinto dal figluolo, lo Spirito Santo da l'une e da l'altro, è per rispetto de le persone.

"Per il che noi danniamo e detestiamo l'errore di quelli che dicono che il padre, semplicemente quanto alla sua essentià, et in quanto è solo vero Iddio (come esse dicono) ha generato il suo figliuolo: come se la divina maëstà, imperio, essentia, et insomma la vera divinità, non appartenesse se non al padre solo, e che Jesu Christo, e lo Spirito Santo fusseno Iddii procedenti da lui, e che in questo modo l'unità de l'essentia divina fusse divisa o separata.

"In tanto, confessando noi che non ci è se non un solo Iddio, riconosciamo che tutto quello che s'attribuisce a la divinità, alla sua gloria et essentia, conviene tanto al figliuolo, quanto allo Spirito Santo, quando si parla semplicemente di Dio, senza far comparatione da una persona a l'altra. Ma facendosi la comparatione de le persone de l'una à l'altra, ci conviene osservare quello che è proprio à ciascuna, per farne tale distintione, che il figliuolo non sia il padre, ne lo Spirito Santo sia il figliuolo.

"Quanto alla persona del nostro signor Jesu Christo, oltre che fin da ogni eternità è stato generato da Iddio suo padre et è stato persona distinta da lui, noi teniamo che nella sua natura humana, de la quale egli si è vestito per nostra salute, egli è ancora vero e naturale figliuolo di Dio, per havere in tal modo unite le due nature che non è se non un solo mediatore, Iddio manifesto in carne, riservando sempre le proprietà di ciascuna de le due nature.

"Hor, faciendo questa dichiaratione, noi protestiamo, e sopra la fede che noi debbiamo à Dio promettiamo e ci obligliamo de seguir questa dottrina, e di perseverar in essa, senza contravenirvi ne direttamente, ne obliquamente, di certa scientia, o con alcuna malitia, per nutrire alcune dissentione, o differentia, che fusse per disviarci da tale accordo. E generalmente per chiuder la porta à tutte le discordie per l'avvenire, noi dichiariamo di voler vivere e morire nell'obbedientia de la dottrina di questa Chiesa, e quanto per noi si potra risistere à tutte le sette che si potesseno levare all'incontro, e cosi l'approviamo, accettiamo, e confermiamo sotto pena di esser tenuti pergiuri e mancatori di fede.

"Io Silvio Telio approvo la confessione supra scritta et detesto tutto quello il fusse in contraria a essa.

"Io fran° Porcellino da pioue di sacco accetto et approvo la sopra scritta confessione come in essa ci contiene.

"Io Filippo Rustici da Lucia sottoscriuo et accetto la confessione che di sopra si contiene.

"Io Valentino Gentile Cosentino accetto ut supra.

"Io Ypolito Pelerino da Carignano acceto como di sopra.

"Io Nicolao Gallo accetto ut supra."

TRANSLATION.

"Although the confession of faith contained in the Apostles' creed should be sufficient for the simplicity of Christian people, nevertheless since some, led by their curiosity from the path of the pure and true faith, have disturbed the union and concord of this Church, and disseminated false and erroneous opinions: To meet all the wiles of Satan, and be protected and provided against any who would seduce, and to show that we believe with one heart and speak with one mouth, and likewise that we repel and detest all heresies against the pure faith which we have held hitherto, and wish to follow even to the end, We have resolved to make the declaration hereinafter following, in regard to the single and simple essence of God, and the distinction of the three persons.

"We declare then that God, the Father, hath in such wise generated from all eternity his Word and [Lat. has "or" (*sive*)] Wisdom, which is his only Son, and that the Holy Spirit hath proceeded [in such wise] from both, that there is but one sole and simple essence of Father, Son and Holy Spirit; and that it is in respect of the persons that the Father is distinct from the Son, and the Holy Spirit from the one and the other.

"Wherefore we damn and detest the error of any who say that the Father, simply in virtue of His own essence, and in as much as He is the only true God (as they say He is), hath generated His Son; as if the divine majesty, dominion, essence, and in short the true divinity, belonged to the Father alone, and Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit were Gods proceeding from Him, and in this wise the unity of the divine essence were divided or separated.

"Howbeit while we confess that there is but one sole God, we acknowledge that whatsoever is attributed to the divinity, to His glory and essence, belongs equally to the Son as to the Holy Spirit, when we are speaking simply of God, without comparing one person with another. But when we compare the persons among themselves, we must observe what is proper to each, making such distinctions that the Son be not the Father nor the Holy Spirit the Son.

"As for the person of our Lord Jesus Christ, besides that he hath from all eternity been generated by God, his Father, and been a person distinct from Him, we hold that in his human nature, which he hath put on for our salvation, he is likewise true and natural Son of God, through having in such wise united the two natures that he is one sole Mediator, God manifest in flesh, with reservation of the properties of each of the two natures.

"Now in making this declaration, we protest, and we promise and bind ourselves by the faith which we owe to God, that we will follow this doctrine and persevere in it, without either directly or indirectly contravening it, knowingly or with any evil intent, so as to nourish any dissension or difference which might lead us from the path of this accord. And in general, to shut the door on all discord for the future, we declare that we wish to live and die in obedience to the doctrine of this Church, and, so far as in us lies, to resist all sects that could rise in opposition. And this we approve, accept and confirm, under penalty of being held perjurers and faithless.

"I, Silvio Telio, approve the above-written confession and detest everything opposed to it.

"I, Francesco Porcellino, of Piove di Sacco, accept and approve the above-written confession according as is contained in it.

"I, Filippo Rustici, of Lucia, subscribe and accept the confession which is contained above.

"I, Valentino Gentile, of Cosenza, accept as above.

"I, Ypolito Pelerino, of Carignano, accept as above.

"I, Nicolao Gallo, accept as above."

APPENDIX VII.

(P. 124.)

Organisation of the Ministry and the Conferences in the Strangers' Church, London, 1550. (*Forma ac Ratio Ecclesiastici Ministerii in Peregrinorum Ecclesia*, Frankf. May, 1551; reprinted in Kuyper's *Joannes à Lasco*, 1866, ii. pp. 45 ff.)

"*De Forma ac Ratione Ecclesiastici Ministerii.*

"Nos id quidem in nostris ecclesiis pro nostra virili conati sumus, sumpto exemplo a Genevensi et Argentinensi Peregrinorum Ecclesia. . . . .

"Hisce nimirum donis suis exornat Dominus in sua ecclesia verbi divini ministerium, ad ejus ædificationem, ministrosque ipsos postorum ac doctorum nomine dignatur. Quanquam autem apud istos quoque curam ac custodiam gubernandæ ecclesiæ præcipuam esse voluit, duo tamen adhuc custodum præterea genera illis in sua ecclesia adjunxit, peculiaremque eis ipsorum functionem consignavit. Atque alii quidem in Scripturis vocantur presbyteri, sive seniores, item episcopi, præpositi et gubernationes: alii vero potestates, præcellentes ministri, et altores ecclesiæ Christi, quos nos magistratum vocamus.

"Porro ad hunc presbyterorum ordinem ipsi quoque pastores ac doctores omnes pertinent, sed curam sibi gubernandæ conservandæque ecclesiæ non sumunt soli, nisi in reliquorum presbyterorum cœtu, quem ut sibi adjunctum habeant omni studio ac sollicitudine adniti debent. (Pp. 48, 49.)

"*De Modo ac Ratione Prophetiæ in Germanorum Ecclesia diebus Jovis.*

"Ratio prophetiæ in Germanorum Ecclesia hæc est visa fere maxime utilis toti ecclesiæ, ut in illa excuterentur et approbarentur omnia per mutuam locorum e Scripturis collationem, quæ in totius ejus hebdomadis concionibus videri poterant vel non recte, vel non ad plenum omnino fuisse explicata, aut qualemcumque tandem in animis dubitationem forte adhuc reliquissent. Cum enim nusquam aliunde plus imminere posse periculi constet in omnibus ecclesiis, quam ex doctrinæ dissidiis, nihil sane æque etiam utile esse potest in omnibus ecclesiis quam ut unanimus

doctrinæ consensus in illis ex verbo Dei retineatur. Ad quem equidem retinendum atque etiam alendum vix quidquam haberi excogitarique potest aut melius, aut commodius, aut etiam efficacius hac tali publica doctrinæ ministrorum examinatione atque approbatione.

"Die Jovis igitur, sub finem concionis, quæ hora propemodum nona ante meridiem habetur, ecclesiastes ipse hortatur seniores ecclesiæ et omnes eos qui ad proponendas objectiones designati sunt, ad proferendum in medium aliquid, cum omni modestia et gravitate, ad ecclesiæ ædificationem, non autem ad vanam ostentationem. Ac tum ministri rationem reddunt doctrinæ suæ, in ejus hebdomadis concionibus traditæ, sí quid adversus illam objiciatur. (Pp. 101, 102.)"

TRANSLATION.

"*On the Form and Plan of the Ministry of the Church.*

"We have indeed attempted this in our churches to the best of our ability, following the example of the Strangers' Church at Geneva and at Strassburg. . . . .

"With these gifts of his in sooth the Lord adorns the ministry of the divine word in his church, to its edification, and the ministers themselves he honours with the name of pastors and doctors. Although, however, he willed that the principal care and charge of governing the church be committed to them also, nevertheless he has adjoined to them in his church two other kinds of custodians besides, and has assigned to these a peculiar function of their own. And of these the one class are called in the Scriptures presbyters or elders, also bishops, foremen or governments; but the others are called powers, principal ministers, nourishers of the church of Christ, whom we call the magistracy. Further, to this order of presbyters the pastors and doctors themselves also belong, but they do not take to themselves alone the care of governing and preserving the church, save in the assembly of the other presbyters, and they ought with all earnestness and anxiety to strive to have this [assistance] adjoined to themselves.

"*On the Method and Plan of the Prophesying in the Germans' Church on Thursdays.*

"This plan of the prophesying in the Germans' Church has

appeared of well-nigh the highest utility to the whole church, so that in it, by a mutual comparison of passages of the Scriptures, all those points should be thoroughly discussed and approved, which in the preachings of that whole week might seem to have been explained, either incorrectly, or not altogether fully, or which had haply still left any sort of lingering doubt in the hearers' minds. For since it is certain that in all churches there can from no quarter arise greater danger than from discords of doctrine, so nothing truly can be of equal utility in all churches, as that a unanimous agreement of doctrine be retained in them by appeal to the word of God. For retaining and even increasing which, scarcely anything can be had or thought of, either better, or more convenient, or even more efficacious than this sort of public examination and approbation of the doctrine of the ministers.

"On Thursday, then, at the end of preaching, which is held about nine in the forenoon, the preacher himself exhorts the elders of the church, and all those who are assigned for proposing objections, to bring forward something, with all modesty and gravity, for the edification of the church, but not for empty ostentation. And then the ministers render an account of their doctrine delivered in the preachings of that week, if anything be objected against it."

APPENDIX VIII.

(P. 128.)

Letter from Microen to Bullinger, respecting the first Unitarians of London, 1551. (State Archives of Zürich, *Litteræ Anglicæ*, fol. 103; extracted by the kindness of the archivist, Dr. Johann Strickler.)

"S. P. Quamquam variis distringar negociis, in hac præsertim ecclesiæ nostræ infantia instituenda, non possum tamen oblatam hanc ad te scribendi opportunitatem prætermittere, ne me tui oblitum putes, qui animo meo alte infixus hæres, cum propter christianissimas tuas quas audivi ex te conciones, tum propter *Decades* tuas nuper editas, quibus nos adulescentiores ad excolendam ecclesiam Christi iuvamur non vulgariter. Subsidiis nobis opus est in tanta negociorum difficultate. Undique peti-

mur qui lubenter sinceram Dei doctrinam ecclesiis traderemus. Nobis non tantum cum Papistis lucta est, quos iam fere ubique errorum suorum pudet, sed multo maxime cum sectariis et Epicuræis ac pseudo-evangelicis. Præter veteres errores de pædobaptismo, de incarnatione Christi, auctoritate magistratus, iuramento, bonorum proprietate ac communitate, similesque, novi in dies oboriuntur cum quibus luctandum nobis.

"Sunt autem in primis divinitatis Christi hostes Ariani, qui iam multo gravius ecclesias nostras quatere incipiunt quam unquam fecerunt, conceptionem Christi e virgine negantes. Præcipua illorum argumenta in tria fere capita redigi possunt. Unum est de Dei unitate per totam veterem ac novam Scripturam explicata, Trinitatisque rem cum vocabulo novam esse, utpote nullis Scripturis proditam. Alterum, Scriptura (inquiunt), qui unum per omnia agnoscit Deum, fatetur ac profitetur illum unum Deum esse solum Patrem (Joan. 17), qui etiam Paulo vocatur unus deus (1 Cor. 8). Postremo, loca quæ divinitatem Christi astruere videntur sic illudunt, ut dicant ea omnia Christo non ex se competere, sed aliunde accepta, nempe a patre habere (Joan. 5, Math. 28). Sed (inquiunt) Deus non accipit a Deo. Eoque tantum nomine hominum quemvis excellit, quod plura dona acceperit a Deo patre.

"His respondimus quod Dominus dedit, et, gratia sit Domino, adest nobis D. a Lasco, unicus post Deum ecclesiæ nostræ clypeus. Volui tamen ista humanitati tuæ exponere, ut, si vacet, quid propriissime ad hæc tria capita hostium Christi responderi possit, scribere ad me digneris; nam ex tua *Decade* in qua alioqui solidissime stabilis divinitatem Christi, nihil aut parum elicere potui, quod his commode opponatur. Vos patres, præceptores et duces nostri in reformandis ecclesiis, non gravabimini nos monere ac docere, quo Dei ecclesiam recte instituamus, ac contra omnes hæreses muniamus.

"Agimusque. Huc spectant omnia, ac imprimis instituta est in ecclesia nostra Germanica Scripturæ collatio, in qua discutiuntur conciones superioris hebdomadæ, ad puritatem doctrinæ retinendam, quæ res nonnihil compescit hæreticos, et iuniores confirmat in doctrina christiana. Habemus præterea in nostro Germanico templo alias duas lectiones latinas, unam a Domino a Lasco, alteram a Domino Gualtero Delvino, post quas singulæ

Scripturarum collationes de proximis lectionibus habentur, non sine maxima ecclesiarum commoditate. Tres itaque singulis hebdomadibus Scripturarum collationes habemus, cum principio de duabus tantum inter nos constitutum fuisset.

"Unum adhuc imprimis in ecclesia nostra requiritur, usus videlicet baptismi et cœnæ dominicæ. Libertas nobis regio privilegio concessa est, sed per malevolos quosdam stat quominus tanto beneficio fruamur. Laborat quidem pro officio suo diligenter Dominus a Lasco adversus episcopos, ut libertate facta frui liceat; sed movet tamen, nihil autem promovet. Metuo ne nobis ad Parlamentum usque sit expectandum, quod quando futurum sit, nescio. Grassatus est Londini, mense Julio, sudor anglicus, quo correptus D. a Lasco periculosissime laboravit, adeo ut de eius vita actum esse putaremus. Sed convaluit, misertus enim est nostri Dominus; nam, eo sublato, metuendum, ne sint peregrinorum quoque ecclesiæ. Dominus est ecclesiæ suæ propugnator unicus.

"Quo in statu sint res Domini Hopri, episcopi Glocestriensis, ex ipsius litteris rectius intelliges. Quantum ego sane intelligere possum, fideliter suum talentum exponit. Rogo te, ut pro tua auctoritate illum commonefacias mansuetudinis ac benignitatis. Uxorem ejus D. Annam monebis, ne se curis huius seculi involvat; caveat sibi a spinis quibus suffocatur verbum Dei; rem periculo plenam esse, sub Christo, venari opes atque honores. Habent enim admonitiones tuæ plurimum ponderis apud utrumque. Discessit non ita pridem e terris episcopus Lincolniensis, evangelicæ doctrinæ fautor. Abripuit sudor anglicus dominos præclarissimos adolescentes, ducem Suffolciæ et fratrem ipsius Carolum. Regnum hac æstate, gratias Deo, pacatum habuimus; nam tumultus quorumdam rusticorum, principio æstatis exortus, auctoritate magistratus ac diligentia celerrime oppressus fuit.

"Bene vale, mi Domine, meamque libertatem boni consulas. Nostro nomine non graveris precor, salutare observandos præceptores nostros, D. Bibliandrum, Pellicanum, Gesnerum et Frisium. Dominus vestram ecclesiam ab omni malo liberet, Amen. 1551, Augusti 14.

"D. a Lasco ruri est apud Episcopum Cantuariensem; ad te alioqui, quantum antea ex eius verbis colligere potui, scripturus. Tuus, quantus est,

"MARTINUS MICRONIUS.

TRANSLATION.

[Revised from Dr. Hastings Robinson's version, in *Zürich Letters*, 3 ser. pp. 574—577.]

"Very much greeting. Though I am distracted by various affairs, especially in establishing this infancy of our church, yet I cannot pass by this offered opportunity of writing to you, lest you think me forgetful of you, who are deeply fixed in my thoughts, both on account of your most Christian discourses which I have heard from your own mouth, and on account of your lately published *Decades*, whereby we younger men are assisted in no ordinary degree to improve the church of Christ. We have need of helps in this great difficulty of our affairs. On every side are we attacked, who would willingly deliver to the churches the unmixed doctrine of God. Our wrestling is not only with the Papists, who are almost everywhere ashamed of their errors, but by far the most with sectaries and Epicureans and pseudo-evangelicals.[1] Besides the ancient errors respecting pædo-baptism, respecting the incarnation of Christ, the authority of the magistrate, oath-taking, the property and community of goods, and the like, new ones are rising up every day with which we have to wrestle.

"There are, however, in the front rank as enemies of Christ's divinity, Arians,[2] who now begin to shake our churches much more severely than they ever did, as they deny the conception of Christ by a virgin. Their principal arguments may be reduced to three heads. One is respecting the unity of God as unfolded throughout the entire Old and New Scripture; and that the

[1] [By "pseudo-evangelicals" Microen does not mean Unitarians (as is supposed pp. 128, 129, 178, 193, above), but the high episcopal party, to which he subsequently refers as "those enemies of Christ, the hypocritical and heretical bishops" (7 Nov. 1551), and as "the pseudo-bishops" (18 Feb. 1553). Ridley of London, and Goodrich of Ely, are especially named by him. *Zür. Lett.*, 3 ser. 266, 267, 268.]

[2] [As early as 20 May, 1550, Microen, writing to Bullinger, mentions "Arians . . . . in great numbers," as making it "of the first importance that the word of God should be preached here in German, to guard against the heresies which are introduced by our countrymen." *Zür. Lett.*, 3 ser. 260.]

Trinity, both the term and the thing, is new, inasmuch as it is disclosed in no passages of Scripture. The second is, Scripture (say they) which acknowledges one God pervading all things, owns and professes that this one God is the Father alone (John xvii. 3), who is also by Paul called the one God (1 Cor. viii. 6). Lastly, the passages which seem to establish Christ's divinity they so trifle with as to say that all these things do not belong to Christ of himself, but as received from another, namely, that he has them from the Father (John v. 19, 30; Matt. xxviii. 18). But (say they) God does not receive from God. And by this sole title does [Christ] excel any one of mankind, in that he has received more gifts from God the Father.

"To these things we have replied what the Lord hath given [us to say], and, thanks be to the Lord, Master à Lasco is with us, the sole shield of our church, next to God. I have desired, however, to lay these things before your politeness, that, if you have leisure, you may deign to write me word what may most fitly be replied to these three heads of argument of the enemies of Christ; for from your *Decade*, wherein you most solidly establish Christ's divinity on other grounds, I have been able to elicit nothing, or very little, that may be satisfactorily brought against these positions. You, who are our fathers, preceptors and leaders in reforming the churches, will not grudge us your advice and instruction how we may rightly establish the church of God, and fortify it against all heresies.

"And we are busy. All things are directed to this end, and, in the first place, there has been established in our German church a comparison of Scripture in which are discussed the sermons of the preceding week, to preserve the purity of doctrine, a measure which to some extent represses heretics, and confirms the younger men in the Christian doctrine. We have, besides, in our German place of worship two other Latin lectures, one by Master à Lasco, the other by Master Wouter Deloen, after which there are held separate comparisons of Scriptures on the subject of the next lectures, not without the greatest satisfaction of the churches. Thus we have three comparisons of Scriptures every week, whereas at first we had made arrangements among ourselves for only two.

"One thing of the first importance is still wanting in our church, namely, the use of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Liberty was granted to us by the royal patent, but through certain ill-disposed individuals the fact is that we are prevented from enjoying this great benefit. Master à Lasco does, indeed, according to his office, make diligent efforts, in opposition to the Bishops, that we may be allowed to enjoy the liberty given us; but still he pushes on and yet makes no way. I fear we may have to wait till Parliament meets, and when that may probably be, I know not. The sweating sickness raged in London during the month of July, and Master à Lasco was seized with it, and most perilously distressed, so that we thought his time was come. But he recovered, for the Lord had mercy upon us; for, had he been taken away, it is to be feared that the Strangers' Churches would have been taken too. The Lord is the only champion of his own church.

"In what state are the affairs of Master Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, you will more correctly understand from his own letter. So far as I can well understand, he displays his talent faithfully. I beg you that according to your authority you impress upon him mildness and affability. His wife, Mistress Anne, you will advise that she do not involve herself in the cares of this world; that she beware of thorns, whereby the word of God is stifled; that it is a matter full of peril, under Christ, to hunt after riches and honours. For your admonitions have the greatest weight with them both. Not so long ago departed this life the Bishop of Lincoln [Henry Rands], a favourer of evangelical doctrine. The sweating sickness carried off the most noble young lords, the Duke of Suffolk and his brother Charles. We have had the kingdom, thank God, tranquillised this summer; for a rising of some rustics, which broke out at the beginning of the summer, was very quickly put down by the authority and diligence of the magistrates.

"Farewell, my Master, and take my freedom in good part. Refuse not, I pray, to greet in my name my worshipful preceptors Masters Bibliander, Pellican, Gesner and Friese. The Lord deliver your church from every ill. Amen. 1551, August 14.

"Master à Lasco is in the country at the Bishop of Canterbury's; otherwise, so far as I could gather from what he previously said, he was going to write to you.

"Yours, to the best of his power,

"MARTEN MICROEN.'

APPENDIX IX.

(P. 136.)

Formula of Retractation presented to Adriaans van Hamstede by the Bishop of London, 31 July, 1562. (Strype's *Grindal*, app. ii., edition of 1821, p. 469.)

"Ego Hadrianus Hamstedius, propter assertiones quasdam meas et dogmata verbo Dei repugnantia, dum hic in ecclesia Londino-Germanica ministrum agerem, decreto Episcopi Londinensis, ministerio depositus atque excommunicatus, nunc post sesquiannum vel circiter, rebus melius perpensis, et ad verbi Dei regulam examinatis, aliter sentio: et culpam meam ex animo agnosco, doleoque me tantas offensiones et scandala peperisse.

"Hi sunt autem articuli, seu assertiones, in quibus me errasse fateor.

"1. Primo, quod scripto quodam meo, contra verbum Dei asseruerim, atque his verbis usus fuerim, *scil.* 'Quod Christus ex mulieris semine natus sit, ac nostræ carnis particeps factus, id non fundamentum esse, sed ipsius fundamenti circumstantiam quandam, etiam pueri primis literis imbuti agnoscent. Itaque qui Christum ex mulieris semine natum esse negat, is non fundamentum negat, sed unam ex fundamenti circumstantiis negat.'

"2. Quod Anabaptistas, Christum verum mulieris semen esse negantes, si modo nos non proscindant et condemnent, pro fratribus meis, membrisque corporis Christi debilioribus, agnoverim: et, per consequens, salutem vitæ æternæ illis ascripserim.

"3. Quod negantes hujusmodi Christi ex Virgine incarnationem asseruerim in Christo Domino, unico fundamento, fundatos esse; eorum hujusmodi errorem, lignum, stipulam, et fœnum fundamento superædificata appellans; quo non obstante, ipsi servandi veniant, tanquam per ignem; de quibus testatus sum me bene sperare, quemadmodum de omnibus aliis meis charis fratribus in Christo fundatis: cum tamen Spiritus Sanctus per Joannem apostolum manifeste affirmet negantes Christum in carne venisse (de ipsa carne loquens quæ assumpta erat ex semine Abrahæ et ex semine Davidis) esse seductores et antichristos, et Deum non habere.

"4. Etiam in hoc graviter me peccasse fateor, quod constanter asseruerim negantes Christum esse verum mulieris semen, non

proinde necessario et consequenter negare eum esse nostrum Emanuelem, Mediatorem, Pontificem, Fratrem: neque propterea negare ipsum verum hominem esse, carnisve resurrectionem. Nam istam consequentiam negantes, 'Christum esse verum mulieris semen,' eadem opera negare Christum esse nostrum Mediatorem, plane necessarium esse agnosco. Et non minus quam illam, qua usus est divus Paulus ad Corinthios decimo quinto: 'Si resurrectio mortuorum non est, nec Christus quidem resurrexit. Quod si Christus non resurrexit, inanis est videlicet prædicatio nostra; inanis autem est et fides vestra.'

"5. Quod aliquoties in meis concionibus, præter officium pii ministri, usus fuerim argumentis, persuasionibus, similitudinibus et dicteriis, ad istas assertiones populo persuadendas: videlicet, similitudine, 'non referre cujus sit coloris vestis regia;' et litigantes de carne Christi militibus de tunica Christi alea ludentibus comparando: cæterisque hujusmodi. Quæ omnia eo tendunt, ut hunc fundamentalem fidei nostræ articulum extenuarent, et negantibus salutis spem non præcluderent. Agnosco enim plurimum interesse utrum Christus nostram carnem, an aliquam aliam cœlestem, seu ætheream assumpserit; cum non nisi in nostra carne judicio Dei satisfieri, et pro peccatis hostia Deo accepta offerri potuisset.

"6. Agnosco etiam in eo culpam meam, quod in concionibus meis affirmaverim unicuique in Ecclesia reformata liberum esse infantem suum sine baptismo ad aliquot annos reservare; neque ullius fratris conscientiam, in hac re, ad aliquod certum tempus astringi posse.

"7. Postremo, quod horum præscriptorum errorum monitores, utriusque ecclesiæ ministros contempserim: atque ipsum adeo reverendum Episcopum Londinensen, utriusque Peregrinorum ecclesiæ superintendentem. Imo potius, contemptis omnibus admonitionibus, ad jus provocarim; quo tamen convictus, legitimis et fide dignis testimoniis, culpam agnoscere renuerim. Quodque prædictos ecclesiarum ministros, et alios monitores accusarim, tam dictis quam scriptis, Londini et in partibus ultramarinis; quasi non ordine, juste et debite ejectus et excommunicatus fuerim. Agnosco enim me optimo jure hoc promeruisse; atque ordine a dicto Episcopo mecum fuisse actum.

"*Cui dictus Hadrianus subscribere recusat.*"

TRANSLATION.

[Revised from Strype's *Grindal*, 1822, p. 67.]

"I, Adriaans van Hamstede, who, on the ground of certain assertions of mine, and dogmata contrary to the word of God, while I acted here as minister in the German Church of London, was deposed from the ministry and excommunicated by the decree of the Bishop of London, now, after a year and a half, or thereabouts, weighing things better, and examining them by the rule of God's word, do think otherwise; and from my heart do acknowledge my fault, and am grieved that I have given rise to so great offences and scandals.

"Now these are the articles or assertions in which I confess that I have erred:

"1. In a certain writing of mine, I have asserted, contrary to the word of God, and used these words, *viz.* 'That the proposition, 'Christ was born of the seed of the woman and made partaker of our flesh,' is not the foundation [of our faith], but a certain circumstance of the actual foundation, even boys who have learned the first rudiments will acknowledge. Therefore he that denieth Christ to be born of the seed of the woman, doth not deny the foundation, but one of the circumstances of the foundation.'

"2. That the Anabaptists, denying Christ to be the true seed of the woman, provided they do not revile and condemn us, I have acknowledged as my brethren, and weaker members of the body of Christ; and by consequence, have assigned to them the salvation of life eternal.

"3. That those who deny the incarnation of Christ by the Virgin, I have declared to be founded in Christ the Lord, the one foundation; calling their error of this sort wood, stubble and hay, built upon the foundation; notwithstanding which, they themselves come to be saved, as through fire; of whom I have testified that I hoped well, as of all my other dear brethren who are founded in Christ. Whereas nevertheless the Holy Spirit by John the Apostle affirms that those who deny that Christ has come in the flesh (speaking of that very flesh which was assumed of the seed of Abraham and of the seed of David) are seducers and Antichrist, and have not God.

"4. Also in this I confess that I have gravely erred, that I have constantly asserted that those who deny Christ to be the true seed of the woman, do not forthwith necessarily and by consequence deny him to be our Emanuel, Mediator, Priest, Brother; nor therefore deny him to be true man, or the resurrection of the flesh. For I acknowledge that it is plainly necessary that those who deny this consequence, 'that Christ is the true seed of the woman,' do by the same act deny Christ to be our Mediator. And not less [necessary] than that consequence which St. Paul has drawn in 1 Cor. xv.: 'If there be no resurrection of the dead, neither is Christ risen; and if Christ be not risen, our preaching is vain, and your faith is vain.'

"5. That sometimes in my sermons, going outside the duty of a pious minister, I have used arguments, persuasions, similitudes and strokes of wit, to convince the people of the above assertions: viz. by the similitude, 'that it is no matter what colour the royal robe is of;' and by comparing those that contended concerning the flesh of Christ to the soldiers that played with dice upon Christ's garment, and other things of this nature. All which things tend to this, that they would minimise this fundamental article of our faith, and would not shut out the hope of salvation from them that deny it. For I acknowledge that it is of the greatest importance whether Christ took our flesh, or some other celestial or ethereal flesh; since except in our flesh he could not satisfy the judgment of God, and be a sacrifice accepted of God for our sins.

"6. I acknowledge also my fault in this, that in my sermons I have affirmed that it is free to every one in the Reformed Church to keep back his child for some years without baptism, and that the conscience of any brother cannot be tied, in this matter, to any given time.

"7. Lastly, that I have contemned the ministers of both Churches, who were my admonishers of these errors above written; and even the right reverend the Bishop of London himself, the Superintendent of both Churches of the Strangers. Yea rather, contemning all admonitions, I have appealed to the law [of the Church]; whereby nevertheless being convicted, on lawful testimonies and worthy of credit, I have refused to acknowledge my fault. And the aforesaid ministers of the Churches,

and others that admonished me, I have accused both by words and by writings, in London and in the parts beyond the sea; as though I were not orderly, justly and lawfully ejected and excommunicated. For I acknowledge that I have most justly deserved this, and that the Bishop of London hath dealt orderly with me.

"*Whereunto the said Adriaans refuseth to subscribe.*"

APPENDIX X.

(P. 150.)

Extract from Ochino's *De Purgatorio.*

[A Dialogue between THEODIDACTUS, CARMELITA, FRANCISCANUS, BENEDICTINUS, DOMINICANUS, AUGUSTINIANUS.]

"THEODID. . . Moriendo igitur non plus quam debuerat fecit [Christus], sed solum quod debebat . . . Quinimo ipse Scotus tuus dixit, Christi merita, licet ut homo, non ut Deus meruerit, in infinitum preciosa esse; non quidem quia opera illa meritoria propria natura infiniti meriti et excellentiæ fuerint, cum in se finita et determinata essent, sicut et anima quæ merebatur et a qua proficiscebantur; sed quia Pater mera gratia sua ea pro operibus infiniti pretii acceptavit, licet in se, propriave natura, infinito preciosa non essent. . . . . Ideo, si Deus ipso juris rigore causam nostram definire, nec ulla in parte nobis gratificari . . . . voluisset, et meritoria Christi opera librasset, ea in se propriave natura, sublata omni divinæ acceptationis gratia, adeo efficacia non reperisset. (P. 36.)"

TRANSLATION.

"THEODID. . . Accordingly, by enduring death Christ did no more than he had been bound to do, but simply what he was bound. . . . . In fact your own Scotus has said that the merits of Christ, though he had merit as man, not as God, are infinitely precious; not indeed that those meritorious works were, of their own proper nature, of infinite merit and excellence, since in themselves they were finite and bounded, as also was the soul which acquired the merit, and from which the works proceeded; but because the Father of his own mere grace accepted them as works of infinite worth, although, in themselves, or of their own proper nature, they were not infinitely precious. . . . . Therefore,

if God had willed to determine our cause by the sheer rigour of legal right, and not to indulge us in any point . . . and had weighed the meritorious works of Christ, he would not have found them sufficiently efficacious, in themselves or of their proper nature, when all favour of divine acceptation was withdrawn."

Extract from Ochino's *Thirty Dialogues*, vol. ii., dial. xviii., *De Summa Trinitate.*

[The interlocutors are SPIRITUS and OCHINUS.]

"SPIRITUS. Dic mihi, credisne hominem illum Iesum, qui Christus est, Mariæ Deique filius, esse Dei filium unigenitum, ideoque et primogenitum? OCHINUS. Credo. SP. Qui fit autem ut sit unigenitus, cum in sacris literis Dei filii nominentur non solum credentes omnes, verum etiam qui aliquo munere funguntur? OCH. Christus ideo est unigenitus quod inter electos solus ipse est summus vates, rex regum, summus sacerdos, unicus magister et caput. Item, quia solus conceptus est ex Spiritu Sancto, soli dedit Deus spiritum sine mensura, in eo solo latent omnes opes divinæ sapientiæ et scientiæ, solus est innocens, plenus gratiæ et veritatis, in quo est virtutum omnium omnibus numeris absoluta perfectio, quique Deo unice charus est. (P. 14.)

"SP. Quidnam igitur id est quo differunt [tres Personæ Trinitatis]? OCH. Dicunt nonnulli divinas personas ideo re ipsa inter se differre, quia Pater non sit genitus ut Filius, neque item productus aut spiratus, ut Spiritus Sanctus. SP. Sunt ergo accidentia. OCH. Sunt quippe reales relationes . . . . ejusmodi sunt ut alteri impertiri nequeant. SP. Qui scis? Si esset in prima persona Paternitas, eademque idem esset quod essentia divina, necesse est ut Pater essentiam suam filio impertiens, eidem etiam Paternitatem impertiret; quippe cum Paternitas et essentia divina, cum sint idem, habeant idem esse. Præterea si Paternitas est æterna, sicut et Filiatio et Spiratio, et inter sese rei natura differunt, erunt in Deo tres æternæ res, nec inerit in eo summa simplicitas. (Pp. 31—34.)

"SP. In sacris literis memoriæ proditum est, missum a Deo fuisse ipsius Filium in mundum; idemque de Spiritu Sancto traditum est, misso a Patre et Filio. Jam vero non dubium est, quin qui mittitur inferior sit mittente. Non sunt ergo æquales tres divinæ personæ; non est ergo tua ista Trinitas. (P. 37.)

"SP. Si est Christus secundum subjectum divinum, quo pacto verum erit illud ejus dictum: 'Pater major me est?' .... Si verba illa .... dicta fuerunt a supposito divino, necesse est ut a Patre quoque et a Spiritu Sancto dicta fuerint, quippe qui eamdem habeant voluntatem et potentiam et virtutem easdemque actiones. Esset ergo perinde ac si non solum Filius, verum etiam. Pater et Spiritus Sanctus dixissent Patrem ipsis esse majorem, et porro se ipso majorem, id quod fieri non potest; nec vere dici potest de humanitate Patri adunata, cum ipse non assumpserit humanam carnem sicut fecit Filius. (Pp. 40, 41.)"

TRANSLATION.

"SPIRIT. Tell me, do you believe the man Jesus, who is the Christ, the son of Mary and of God, to be God's only-begotten, and therefore also first-begotten, son? OCHINO. I do. SP. But how does it happen that he is the only-begotten, when in the sacred writings not only all believers, but also those who discharge a certain office, are called sons of God? OCH. Christ is thereby the only-begotten, because he alone among the elect is the highest prophet, the king of kings, the highest priest, the sole master and head. Also because he also was conceived of the Holy Spirit, to him alone God gave the spirit without measure, in him alone are hid all the treasures of divine wisdom and knowledge, he alone is guiltless, full of grace and truth, in whom there is the absolute perfection of all virtues, and who is singularly dear to God. (P. 14.)

"SP. What then is it wherein [the three persons of the Trinity] differ? .... OCH. Some say that the divine persons have thereby a real difference among themselves, because the Father is not begotten as is the Son, nor again produced or breathed as is the Holy Spirit. .... SP. [The distinctions] then are accidents. OCH. They are in fact real relations .... they are of that sort that they cannot be imparted to another. SP. How do you know? If in the first person there were Fatherhood, and this same quality were identical with the divine essence, it would necessarily be that the Father, imparting his essence to the Son, would impart to him also the Fatherhood; inasmuch as Fatherhood and the divine essence, since they are the same, have the same being. Besides, if the Fatherhood is eternal, as also the

Filiation and the Spiration, and they differ from each other in real nature, there will be in God three eternal realities, nor will there be in Him the highest simplicity. (Pp. 31—34.)

"Sp. In the sacred writings it is recorded for a remembrance that God's own Son was sent by Him into the world; and the same thing is delivered concerning the Holy Spirit, sent by the Father and the Son. But there is no doubt that he who is sent is inferior to the sender. Accordingly the three divine persons are not equal; this is not then that Trinity of yours. (P. 37.)

"Sp. If he is Christ in respect of the underlying divinity, in what way will that saying of his be true, 'The Father is greater than I'? . . . . If those words were spoken by the underlying divinity, they must necessarily have been spoken by the Father also, and by the Holy Spirit, since they have the same will and power and virtue, and the same actions. It would therefore be as if not only the Son but also the Father and the Holy Spirit had said that the Father is greater than they, and furthermore is greater than Himself, which cannot be; nor can it be truly spoken of the humanity united to the Father, since He took not upon Him human flesh, as the Son did. (Pp. 40, 41.)"

APPENDIX XI.

(Pp. 165, 172.)

Letter of Pierre La Ramée to Acontius, 15 December, 1565. (*Petri Rami Professoris Regii . . . . collectaneæ Prefationes et Epistolæ*, &c. *Paris*, 1577, p. 203.)

Jacobo Acontio Tridentino. S.

"Jacobi Acontii nomen e præclaris ingenii monumentis jampridem orbi notum atque illustre est; sed tamen Jo. Lasicii poloni e Britannia reditu, nobis etiam jucundum charumque factum est. Etenim cum doctos in ea insula et mathemat[ic]is præsertim deditos nosse cuperem, et ad te forte fortuna Lasicius delatus esset, operæ-pretium nobis fuit Lutetiam reversum, de humanitate et gratia, de variis et reconditis artibus Acontii, narrantem audire: inter quas laudes cum Archimedeam illam de machinis et urbium munitionibus geometriam audivissem, non putavi tantam docti et ingenui animi salutandi occasionem mihi prætermittendam esse.

"Interea bibliopolæ nostri, Francoforto Lutetiam reversi, attulerunt octo libros *Stratagematum*, quorum lectione non solum recreatus sum vehementer, sed quibusdam apud nos melioris et notæ et literaturæ theologis legendos proposui, qui modestiam orationis et disputationis prudentiam mirifice comprobarunt.

"Libellum autem de *Methodo* multo jam antea legeram, non abhorrentem quidem ab institutis nostris; sed neque plane convenientem. Equidem mirifico desiderio teneor tua omnia perlegendi ac cognoscendi, præsertim si geometricum aliquid et mechanicum commentatus es; iis enim studiis modo totus deditus sum. Ea de causa scribo etiam ad Joannem Dium; literas nostras eodem fasciculo conclusi, satis confisus te protinus ei redditurum. Nec dubio utrumque vestrum, nec unquam dubitabo quemquam vestri similem provocare gratia vel accipienda, vel etiam referenda. Hoc enim liberalis animi commune inter bonos et humanitati deditos esse arbitror. Vale. Lutetiæ, 14 Cal. Janu. 1565."

TRANSLATION.

To Giacomo Contio of Trienta, Greeting.

"Known to the world and illustrious this long time from the brilliant monuments of his genius, is the name of Giacomo Contio; but since the return from Britain of John à Lasco, the Pole, it has become in addition delightful and dear to me. For since I desired to know the learned men in that island, and especially those given to mathematics, and since à Lasco happened fortunately to have been thrown in your way, it was worth our while to listen to his account, on his return to Paris, of the culture and grace, the various and recondite scientific acquirements of Acontius; and when among these praises I had listened to that Archimedean system of surveying in reference to engines of war and the fortifications of cities, I considered that such an opportunity of greeting a learned and open mind was not to be passed over by me.

"Meanwhile our booksellers, on their return from Frankfurt to Paris, brought back the eight books of the *Stratagemata*, with the reading of which I was not merely extremely refreshed myself, but I placed them in the hands of some theologians here of superior repute and literature, who approved to admiration the modesty of the style and the prudence of the discussion.

"But long before this I had read the little book on *Method*, which is not absolutely at variance with my own principles, and yet not wholly in accord with them. I am in fact possessed with a wonderful desire of perusing and becoming acquainted with all you have written, especially if you have elaborated anything of a geometrical and mechanical nature, for to these studies I am so to say entirely devoted. On that account I am writing also to John Dee; I have enclosed my letter in this same packet, being confident enough that you will hand it over to him forthwith. With neither of you do I hesitate, nor with your like shall I ever hesitate, to make a call upon you by the acceptance, or, again, by the return of a kindness. For this proof of a liberal spirit I think to be common property among the virtuous and those devoted to culture. Farewell.—Paris, 15 Dec. 1565."

APPENDIX XII.

(Pp. 170, 176.)

The inadequacy of the Apostles' Creed to serve as a common Confession of Faith among Protestants, according to Acontius. (*Stratagemata Satanæ*, first edition, Basel, 1565, 4to, bk. vii. pp. 226—230.)

"At extat quidem vetustissima illa ac brevissima confessio quæ Symboli nomine Apostolis ascribitur, quam nemo non admittit. Quid ita? Causa est minime obscura. Non nisi summa christianæ pietatis complectitur capita, ac certissima quæque, et in divinis literis cuique obvia. Nullius ibi curiosæ quæstionis est judicium, sive decisio. Itaque nemini scrupulum, quamobrem probet, relinquit. Hinc igitur, quid sit, quod vix quisquam alterius malit subscribere confessioni, quam novam excogitare, palam est; quia nimirum, præterquam quod nostris utimur verbis, non iis quibus Spiritus Sanctus est usus, minutissima quæque complecti volumus. Si constaret Apostolos ejus fuisse confessionis auctores, quæ eorum titulo est concinnata, ut Christianorum esset symbolum, vix carere temeritate posset, qui ea contentus non esset. Verum cum nemini dubium sit, quin ratio jutificationis nostræ præcipuum sit evangelicæ doctrinæ caput; atque adeo ejus quædam summa; et id uno 'remissionis peccatorum' verbo attingatur; ut ad contrarias videatur sententias

posse accommodari, quid mihi persuadeam vix habeo. Non enim aperte meriti errorem longe maximum excludit. Ac mirari etiam quis non possit neque baptismi, neque cœnæ dominicæ ullam fieri mentionem?

"Sed, ut se res habet, hæc piis ingeniis proponimus consideranda; si qua forte ratione concinnari aliquando fidei confessio possit aliqua talis, quæ omnibus piis ecclesiis satisfaciat. Tametsi enim reliquæ essent controversiæ, cum tamen persuasi homines essent, inter quos illæ intercederent, communia esse nihilominus. sacrorum jura, esse nihilominus inter se fratres, spes aliqua esset, fore ut et ipsæ quoque controversiæ multo majore tractarentur æquanimitate; quin etiam, ut, sublatis simultatibus, inter eos tandem conveniret, atque ita adversariis omnis præcideretur calumniandi occasio. Quod ut aliquando contingat, summis precibus est à Deo contendendum."

TRANSLATION.

"It is true there is extant that very ancient and brief confession, which, under the name of The Creed, is ascribed to the Apostles, and this confession every one admits. Why so? The reason is by no means obscure. It embraces nothing but the chief heads of Christian piety, and those which are most certain and obvious to every one. In it there is no judgment or decision on any curious question. Therefore it leaves no one any subtlety as a reason why he approves it. Accordingly it is obvious from this how it is that hardly any one would subscribe another's confession in preference to thinking out a new one; because, forsooth, besides that we employ [in preference] our own words, not those which the Holy Spirit has employed, we wish to embrace [in our creed] every little minute particular. If it were certain that the Apostles were the authors, with a view to its being the creed of Christians, of that confession which has been composed with their label, he would hardly be free from rashness who should not be content with it. Yet, since no one doubts that the ground of our justification is the principal head of evangelical doctrine, and thus a sort of summary of it; and since this is touched [in the Apostles' Creed] only in the one expression 'remission of sins,' so that it may seem capable of being accommodated to contrary opinions, I hardly know what to think.

For it does not openly exclude the very greatest error on the subject of merit. And who cannot be surprised, too, that not any mention is made either of Baptism or of the Lord's Supper?

"But, as the matter stands, we propose these things for consideration by pious minds; if haply by any method some confession of faith may sometime be composed, such as may satisfy all pious churches. For though there should still be controversies remaining, yet when men, between whom these controversies should come, should be persuaded that nevertheless they have laws in common on sacred things, that nevertheless they are brothers among themselves, there might be some hope that even the very controversies too might be handled with much greater calmness; nay even that, strifes being dismissed, there might at length be agreement among them, and so all occasion of calumny from their adversaries might be cut off. That this may some time come about, we must with our utmost prayers endeavour to obtain from God."

Protest of Acontius against the Church's use of the secular arm. (*Stratagemata Satanæ*, bk. iii., first ed., pp. 95, 96.)

"Sunt quibus quiescente gladio protinus de religione omni actum fore videatur. Magna vero fiat Domino injuria, si eum dormire suspicemur, neque sui populi ullam eum curam tangere; vel sine gladio Evangelium eum suum conservare non posse, quasi Verbi nulla esset vis, verum Christianis omnis in ferro posita spes esse videatur. . . . . Bono simus animo, non dormit Dominus, sed vigilat. Si in illo nostra posita sit spes omnis, si Verbo pugnaverimus, sed ejus afflati spiritu (qui assiduis impetrandus est precibus), næ quod ab hæreticis timeamus nihil fuerit. . . . .

"At vero si semel illud obtinuerint pastores, ut quisquis mutire quid ausus fuerit, protinus sit accersendus carnifex, qui solo gladio omnes solvat nodos, quod deinceps magnum sit divinarum literarum studium? Certe non magnopere sibi opus esse intelligant. Poterunt enim quidquid somniaverint misero popello obtrudere; et suum nihilominus tueri dignitatis locum. Væ nobis, væ nostris posteris, si hoc, quo uno et pugnare nobis licet, et vincere semper possumus, abjecerimus telum. Actum sit."

[Translated above, pp. 176, 177.]

APPENDIX XIII.

(P. 192.)

Letters of Lelio Sozini to Johann Wolff, 1554—1555. (From the *Hottingersche Sammlung*, vols. v. p. 332, and vii. p. 198, by the kindness of Prof. Fritzsche, of Zürich.)

1. "Si nomen Spiritus commune est tribus Personis in hac propositione *Deus est Spiritus*, quoniam significat essentiam spiritualem; ego scire velim an significet aliud, quando tertiam designat Personam? Quid tandem monstret a Patre et Filio discretum? Quæso dicas subiectum ne sit an prædicatum? Num Deo tunc nomen Spiritus concedatur, ut Patris et Filii nomen tribuitur? Sed quam relationem habeat simul indicato. An Spiritus ille reperiatur in Dei essentia ab eo distinctus qui est Deus Pater atque Filius? Postremo vide an Filius de ipso Deo, sicut Pater, omnino prædicetur: nam Jesus Christus, illius Dei Filius, qui trinus et unus creditur esse, non tamen Filius Trinitatis dicitur, quamvis creatura sit et opera Trinitatis ab extra censeantur indivisa."

2. "Nihil gratius mihi poterat contingere, verum ipse ad te veniam et gratias agam. Interea bene et feliciter vale, mi Joanne Vulphi, quem ego pluris facio et magis diligo atque colo quam re ipsa declaraverim; sed occasio dabitur ut me vera loqui et scribere intelligat.

"Lælius, sive de amicitia vera et christiana quæ in æternum durat."

Translation.

1. "If, in the proposition God is Spirit, the term Spirit is common to the three Persons, since it signifies spiritual essence, I would wish to know whether it signifies something else when it designates the third Person? What in short does it point to, distinct from the Father and the Son? Prithee tell me, Is it subject or predicate? Surely the name of Spirit is not then granted to God [in the same way] as the name of Father and of Son is applied? But indicate at the same time what relation it bears. Can that Spirit be found in the essence of God, distinct from him who is God the Father and the Son? Lastly, see whether the word Son is predicated out and out of God

himself, like Father; for Jesus Christ, the Son of that God who is believed to be threefold and one, is nevertheless not called Son of the Trinity, although he be a creature, and the extra works of the Trinity are reckoned indistributable [among the persons]."

2. "Nothing more pleasant could happen to me, but I will myself come to you and thank you. Meantime, fare well and happily, my John Wolff, whom I make more of, and love and reverence more than I could really express; but occasion will be given that he may understand that I speak and write what is true.

"Lælius, or Friendship, true and Christian, which for ever endures."

APPENDIX XIV.

(P. 193.)

Extract from the Racovian Catechism, 1609, bk. ii. chap. ii. quest. 71, 73, 74, 75, 78, 80. (*Catechesis Ecclesiarum quæ in regno Poloniæ et magno ducatu Lithuaniæ . . . affirmant: neminem alium præter Patrem domini nostri Jesu Christi esse illum unum Deum Israælis; hominem autem illum Jesum Nazarenum, qui ex virgine natus est, nec alium præter aut ante ipsum, Dei filium unigenitum, et agnoscunt et confitentur.* Racoviæ, 1609.)

"D. Exposuisti quæ cognitu ad salutem de essentia Dei sunt prorsus necessaria: expone, quæ ad eam rem vehementer utilia censeas?

"R. Id quidem est ut cognoscamus, in essentia Dei unam tantum personam esse.

. . . . . .

"D. Quænam est hæc una persona divina?

"R. Est ille Deus unus, Domini nostri Jesu Christi Pater.

"D. Quî istud planum facis?

"R. Testimoniis Scripturæ evidentissimis, quæ sunt: Hæc est vita æterna (ait Jesus) ut cognoscant te (Pater) illum solum verum Deum, Jo. xvii. 3. Et ad Corinthios Apostolus scribit: Nobis unus Deus (est) ille Pater, ex quo omnia, 1 Cor. viii. 6. Et ad Ephesios: Unus est Deus et pater omnium, qui est super omnia et per omnia et in omnibus, Eph. iv. 6.

"D. Verum Christiani non solum Patrem, verum etiam Filium et Spiritum Sanctum personas esse in una deitate vulgo statuunt.

"R. Non me clam est; sed graviter in eo errant, argumenta ejus rei afferentes e Scripturis male intellectis.

. . . . . .

"D. Quid autem de Filio respondebis?

"R. Ea vox, Deus, duobus potissimum modis in Scripturis usurpatur: Prior est, cum designat Illum qui in cœlis et in terra omnibus ita dominatur et præest, ut neminem superiorem agnoscat: ita omnium auctor est et principium, ut a nemine dependeat. Posterior modus est, cum eum denotat qui potestatem aliquam sublimem ab uno illo Deo habet, aut deitatis unius illius Dei aliqua ratione particeps est. Etenim in Scripturis, propterea, Deus ille unus Deus Deorum vocatur, Ps. l. 1. Atque ea quidem posteriore ratione Filius Dei vocatur Deus in quibusdam Scripturæ locis.

. . . . . .

"D. De Spiritu autem Sancto quid respondes?

"R. Spiritus Sanctus nusquam in Scripturis vocatur expresse Deus. Quia vero, quibusdam locis, ea attribuit ipsi Scriptura, quæ Dei sunt, non eo facit, ac si ipse vel Deus sit, vel persona divinitatis; sed longe aliam ob causam, quemadmodum suo loco audies."

TRANSLATION.

"DISCIPLE. You have set forth the points which are absolutely necessary to a saving knowledge of the essence of God; now set forth those which you deem eminently conducive to that purpose?

"RESPONSOR. It certainly is so, to know that in the essence of God there is but one person.

. . . . . .

"D. Which is this one divine person?

"R. It is the one God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"D. How do you make that plain?

"R. By the clearest testimonies of Scripture; which are: This is life eternal (said Jesus) to know thee (Father) the only true God, Jo. xvii. 3. And the Apostle writes to the Corinthians: To us (there is) one God the Father, from whom (are) all things, 1 Cor. viii. 6. And to the Ephesians: There is one God and

Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all, Eph. iv. 6.

"D. But Christians commonly maintain that not the Father alone, but also the Son and the Holy Spirit are persons in the one Godhead.

"R. That is no secret to me; but therein they gravely err, producing arguments on this matter from Scriptures ill understood.

. . . . . .

"D. But what answer will you make respecting the Son?

"R. This word God is employed in two ways mostly in the Scripture. The former is when it designates Him who so rules and presides over all things in heaven and earth, that He owns no superior, and is so the author and fountain-head of all things as to depend on none. The latter way is when it denotes him who has some sublime power from that one God, or is in some way partaker of the Godhead of that one God. For in the Scriptures, on this account, that one God is called God of Gods, Ps. l. 1. And on this latter ground the Son of God is called God in some places of Scripture.

. . . . . .

"D. But what answer do you make respecting the Holy Spirit?

"R. The Holy Spirit is nowhere expressly called God in the Scriptures. But because, in some places, the Scripture attributes to him those things which belong to God, it does not do so on the ground as if he were either God, or a person of the divinity, but for a very different cause, as you shall hear in its proper place."

APPENDIX XV.

(P. 210.)

John Milton on the Unity of God. (*De Doctr. Chr.* i. 2, pp. 17, 18.)

Having cited several texts of the Old Testament in favour of the Divine Unity, Milton thus proceeds:

"Quid planius, quid distinctius, quid ad vulgi sensum quotidianumque loquendi usum accommodatius dici potuit, ut intelligeret Dei populus esse unum numero Deum, unum spiritum, et

ut quidvis aliud numerando unum esse intelligebat? Æquum enim erat, et rationi summe consentaneum, sic tradi primum illud adeoque maximum mandatum, in quo Deus ab universo populo, etiam infimo, religiose coli volebat, ut ne quid in eo ambiguum, ne quid obscurum suos cultores in errorem impelleret, aut dubitatione aliqua suspensos teneret: atque ita prorsus intellexit semper populus ille, sub lege atque prophetis, Deum nempe unum numero esse, alium præterea neminem, nedum parem. Enimvero nondum nati erant scholastici qui acuminibus suis, vel potius meris repugnantiis confisi, unitatem Dei, quam asserere præ se ferebant, in dubium vocarunt. Quod autem in omnipotentia Dei merito excipi omnes agnoscant, non ea posse Deum quæ contradictionem, quod aiunt, implicant, ut supra monuimus, ita hic meminerimus non posse de uno Deo dici quæ unitati ejus repugnant, unumque et non unum faciunt.

"Nunc ad Novi Fœderis testimonia veniamus non minus clara, dum priora repetunt, et hoc insuper clariora, quod Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi unum illum Deum esse testantur. Marc. xii., interrogatus Christus quodnam esset primum omnium mandatum, respondit (v. 29) ex Deut. vi. 4, supra citato, adeoque non aliter intellecto atque intelligi solebat, *Audi Israel, Dominus Deus noster, Dominus unus est*, cui responso scriba ille assensus (v. 32) *Bene*, inquit, *præceptor, in veritate dixisti: nam unus est Deus, nec alius est præter eum. . . .*"

TRANSLATION.

"What could be said more plainly, more distinctly, in a manner more adapted to ordinary capacity and the daily usage of speech, so that the people of God might understand that God is one numerically, one spirit, and precisely as they understood any other thing to be one numerically? For it was just, and in the highest degree agreeable to reason, that the first and therefore the greatest commandment, wherein God's will was that He be religiously worshipped by the whole people, even the lowest of them, should be so delivered that nothing ambiguous therein, nothing obscure, should drive His worshippers into error, or hold them suspended in any doubt: and in that manner this people ever thoroughly understood it, under the law and the prophets, namely that God is one numerically, and there is none

other besides, still less any equal. For truly the Schoolmen were not yet born, who, relying on their subtleties or rather sheer incompatibilities, cast a doubt upon the unity of God which they professed to assert. But as we have given warning above, that all own as a just exception to the omnipotence of God that God cannot do those things which involve what is called a contradiction, so here let us remember that of the one God things cannot be said which are incompatible with His unity, and make Him one and not one.

"Let us now come to the testimonies of the New Covenant, which are not less clear while they recapitulate the foregoing, and are in this respect still clearer, that they testify that the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is the one God. In Mark xii., Christ, being asked which was the first commandment of all, answered (verse 29) from Deut. vi. 4, above cited, and thus [by him] not otherwise understood than as it was wont to be understood, 'Hear, Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One,' to which answer the scribe assenting said (verse 32), 'Teacher, thou hast spoken in truth: for one is God, and there is none but He.'. . . ."

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